OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS
SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

Looking Forward to Work

An enquiry carried out on behalf of the
Central Youth Employment Executive

Roger Thomas
Diana Wetherell

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OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS
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Looking Forward to Work

A report on the first stage of a follow-up survey of fifteen and sixteen year old boy school-leavers, carried out by Social Survey Division of the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys on behalf of the Central Youth Employment Executive

Roger Thomas
Diana Wetherell

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report presents the results of the first and most complex stage of a follow-up survey of youth employment. The data upon which it is based were gathered mainly by personal interviews with some 1733 boy school-leavers and with their parents, their teachers and the Careers Officers with whom they had contact. From this it will be clear that the survey was only made possible by the willing co-operation of all these informants (well over 3000 in all) and by the unflagging efforts of a large team of Social Survey interviewers. Our sincere thanks are therefore due to all interviewers, interviewees and others who supplied information or otherwise contributed to the success of the field work.

Apart from the actual obtaining of the data, the study also passed through a large number of design and analysis stages, to which many members of the Sampling, Field, Coding, Computing and Research Sections of Social Survey Division made vital contributions. Only a few of those who worked on Stage I of the enquiry can be mentioned here by name, but the efforts of many others, particularly in Field and Coding Sections, should not go unacknowledged.

In all aspects of the planning and execution of the field work, the research staff received invaluable advice and help from Liz McCrossan of Field Section. Celia Pillay and Dilys Turner of Sampling Section researched and designed the sample and supervised the actual sampling operations (though the authors take responsibility for all inferences from sample results contained in the report). Maureen Letchford and Joan Rowat put in much work on the development of coding procedures and the maintenance of coding consistency throughout. Steve Turner and Dave Cable of Computing Section handled some intricate data-processing problems with great patience and determination. Finally, Mary Wallis Jones and Keith Hanks, formerly of Research Section, contributed both some formative research ideas and a lot of devoted attention to the detailed and often tedious tasks involved in planning, controlling and analysing a complex survey project.

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GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aims and design of the study

This report is based on results obtained at the first of three stages of a follow-up study of younger male school-leavers, carried out on behalf of the Central Youth Employment Executive in ten areas in England and Wales. The general aim of the enquiry was to provide detailed information about what happens during the period of transition and adjustment to a new way of life which begins shortly before a youngster leaves secondary school and extends over the early part of his employment career.

The first stage of data-collection involved interviews with a sample of 1733 boys in their fourth and fifth years of secondary education, carried out as close as possible to the date on which they left school. Parents, teachers and Youth Employment Careers Officers were also contacted at this stage and information on a wide range of topics connected in one way or another with employment plans and prospects was collected.

The present report uses the information so obtained to examine four main types of factor thought likely to influence the boys' thinking about employment and their adjustment to the world of work. These are:

(1) Individual ability, personality and attitudes, as revealed by the boys' own replies to interview questions and by assessments of them made by their teachers.

(2) Family background and environment, as revealed through interviews with the boys' parents.

(3) School environment, with special reference to institutional differences between schools and to careers work carried on at or by them. Information on these topics was obtained through interviews with head and careers teachers at schools attended by boys in the main sample and with members of the local Youth Employment Service.

(4) Area employment environment, as represented by the ten different types of area within which the sample of school-leavers was drawn.

The report describes how methods of measuring factors of these four types were developed and goes on to show how they jointly and severally influenced individual school-leavers' approach to, and prospects in, employment. Forthcoming reports will draw upon data obtained at Stages II and III, as well as at Stage I, of the enquiry to show how these background factors combined with those operating in the actual work situation to influence the course of the boys' early employment careers.

School and home background factors related to employment

The results of the present research, supported by those of other follow-up studies (and, indeed, by everyday observation) show clearly that in this country the age at which an adolescent leaves school says much, both about his social and educational background and about his future prospects in employment. For practical reasons, the sample of male adolescents upon which our own study is based included only boys who left school by the end of their fifth year of secondary education. Using data from this sample, we can compare and contrast fourth year leavers with those who stayed on in school to sit CSE and/or GCE "O" Level examinations. To complete the picture, we have been able to draw upon various independent sources which enable us to relate the characteristics of the two former groups to those of the minority of pupils who stayed on into the sixth form or beyond.

If examination performance is taken as the criterion, the general level of academic attainment within the population of school-leavers represented by our sample was low. Half the sample consisted of 15 year old leavers from secondary modern schools and, in all, two thirds of the boys had left school without sitting any GCE or CSE examinations. As against this, only 11% were pupils at grammar or technical schools and only 9% had sat examinations consisting wholly or mainly of subjects at GCE "O" Level. Looking at it in a different way, our sample contained a virtually complete cross-section of leavers from secondary moderns (where scarcely any pupils stayed on into a sixth year), but only an atypical minority of leavers from grammar and technical schools, where staying on is the norm. About 80% of leavers from comprehensive schools were represented.

The average level of academic potential, as indicated by teachers' ratings, was also relatively low. Here, however, the downward bias was less marked, since many boys were judged by their teachers to be capable of further academic progress, had they been willing to stay on in school. The sample thus spanned a wide range of academic ability, with only the very brightest pupils sparsely represented.

The institutional nature of the schools which they had attended appeared to influence the boys' level of academic attainment and potential. This was most clearly shown in the case of leavers from secondary modern schools. Larger schools, schools which contained a relatively high proportion of pupils from middle class homes and schools which entered a relatively high proportion of pupils for external examinations all tended to produce leavers who were above average academically, while the opposite was true of smaller, non-examination-oriented, working class schools.

Large differences were found between area sub-samples of leavers in the average level of academic attainment. A major cause of such differences seemed to be that in some areas boys of moderate ability tended to stay on to sit CSE examinations, whereas in other areas they tended to leave by the end of their fourth year without sitting examinations. Even though our results do not relate to all school-leavers, it was noticeable that the most "educationally progressive" areas in terms of our data were situated in the most educationally progressive regions, as identified from national educational statistics.

Turning now to home background, comparisons were made, with the aid of independent data, between fourth year leavers, fifth year leavers and those who stayed on into the sixth form. These confirmed the finding of many other studies that a child's age of leaving school is very heavily influenced by factors associated with social class. Socio-economic status, income, educational level and rate of home-ownership were all highest by far amongst the families of sixth form leavers and lowest amongst those of

15 year old leavers, with those who left after sitting GCE "O" Levels or CSE intermediate.

From these findings it follows that our sample represents a section of the school-leaving population in which individuals from affluent, well-educated, middle-class family backgrounds were, if anything, even more sparsely represented than individuals of high academic ability. Rather less obviously, the small groups of academically very able boys and of boys from backgrounds defined as "middle-class" who are included in our sample are likely to be atypical in at least some respects of able pupils and middle-class youngsters in general.

It is one thing to show statistical associations between, say, age of school-leaving and various objective home background characteristics related to "social class", but quite another to describe the actual processes whereby a school-leaver's "social class background" influences his attitudes or behaviour. Clearly there must be intervening social or psychological links in the causal chain. As a step towards identifying these an attitude scale was developed, using responses made by parents (mainly fathers) of boys in the main sample to questions about the educational and employment aims which they felt young people should pursue. The dimension measured by the scale was one which contrasted "cynical-apathetic materialism" at the one extreme with "actively aspiring idealism" at the other. Scores on this scale were shown to be systematically related to the father's socio-economic status and income and it later proved that both certain aspects of the father's own behaviour and the view of life and employment which he passed on to his son were to some extent predictable from these same scores (see below).

In general, our sample of school-leavers, while deficient in boys from middle class backgrounds and boys of outstanding academic ability (when compared with the school-leaving population as a whole), nevertheless covers a wide range of variation in terms both of social class and of ability. Indeed, these factors proved to be key ones in accounting for the development and distribution of employment-related attitudes and behaviour. Family size also stands out as a background factor of great importance, with boys from large families appearing at a disadvantage in certain respects, as found in other studies.

Some highly significant inter-area differences were found in the distribution of both home background and academic attainment variables. This suggests that area differences in youngsters' employment careers may arise partly from cultural differences between communities, as well as from purely economic or industrial causes.

General behaviour and attitudes

In deciding which of the boys' personal characteristics to examine at Stage I of the enquiry, our aim was to pick out and measure traits likely to influence their subsequent adjustment to employment. It was clear at the outset that attitudes to employment, as such, would need to be covered (see next section). In addition, we considered that attitudes to school and behaviour both in school and when at leisure might give further clues about likely reactions to work. Apart from this, ratings on traits thought to be relevant to employment were available from members of the Youth Employment Service who had interviewed most of the boys in the sample.

A factor analysis of teachers' ratings showed that the teachers perceived three basic aspects of the boys' behaviour in school, namely, Co-operativeness (with teachers), Social Maturity and Extraversion-Introversion. In line with this interpretation, it was found that boys rated as co-operative, socially mature introverts by their teachers were the most likely to be successful academically. Unco-operative, socially mature extraverts, on the other hand, while also of above-average ability, were the most likely to waste this ability (from an academic viewpoint) by leaving school at the earliest opportunity. The reason seems to be that this type of boy is particularly prone to "grow out of" school and to be attracted by the status and life-style of older adolescents. This explanation was supported by the finding that the same group were also the most likely to show "socially precocious" leisure habits, according to their own account. The expected relationships were also found between the scores assigned to boys on the three basic traits by teachers and the same boys' own attitudes to school and truancy behaviour. In general, these scores seemed to have some relevance to behaviour outside, as well as inside, the classroom.

It was found that the Careers Officers' ratings, even on conceptually quite distinct and unrelated traits, contained a strong "general factor" (i.e. a tendency to rate a given individual consistently favourably or unfavourably on all or most traits). The general favourableness or unfavourableness of the Careers Officer's reaction tended to reflect the teacher's more specific impressions as shown in his ratings of academic potential, co-operativeness and social maturity.

Orientations to employment

Correlational analysis of boys' responses to a set of questions about their employment values and preferences revealed two main ways in which attitudes could be compared and contrasted. Scales were accordingly developed to measure these. The first scale was labelled "White Collar Orientation" and distinguished boys who aspired relatively high in conventional occupational terms (i.e. to "white collar" or highly skilled manual work) from those willing to consider jobs of lower skill and status. The second dimension was labelled "Instrumental Orientation" and distinguished boys who showed little positive commitment to work, except as a means (or instrument) for obtaining material rewards, from those who looked for work which was interesting and challenging and placed a lower (overt) value on material and extrinsic considerations.

As expected, abler boys and those who had stayed on to sit GCE or CSE examinations showed a higher level of occupational aspiration and a more committed attitude to employment than did the less able and the earliest leavers. Moreover, boys rated as co-operative and socially mature showed higher aspiration and commitment scores than those rated as unco-operative and socially immature. This was so even when academic level was held constant. Thus individuals who showed conventionally-approved traits in the classroom (i.e. academic success, co-operativeness and maturity as perceived by teachers) were also much more likely than average to show conventionally-approved attitudes to employment (i.e. preference for "better" jobs and overt interest in the intrinsic nature of the work, rather than in material rewards). Conversely, boys who found it difficult to adjust successfully to school were also likely to show attitudes to work (e.g. willingness to accept "dead-end" or "low-status jobs unthinkingly and preoccupation with material and extrinsic considerations) which are generally disapproved by the adult "establishment".

That boys showing higher occupational aspiration and commitment scores did tend to attract approval and those showing low scores on these traits to attract disapproval from adults competent to judge employment potential was shown by analyses which related individuals' scale scores to the ratings which they received from Careers Officers. On every rating scale (including, for example, "Mathematical Ability" and "Appearance") there was a strong tendency for the former group to receive the most favourable and the latter group the least favourable ratings.

While the boys' work orientations were thus strongly related to teachers' and Careers Officers' perceptions of them, the relationships between work orientations and the other aspects of the boys' own behaviour and attitudes which we measured (e.g. attitude to school, leisure behaviour) were much weaker. On the other hand, orientations to employment seemed to be significantly influenced by home background factors. Particularly striking relationships were found between boys' scores on the occupational aspiration and commitment scales and fathers' and elder brothers' occupational status, the number of children in the family and the position of the boy in the birth order. A marked association, which persisted even with father's occupational level held constant, was found between boys' scores on the scales measuring orientation to employment and fathers' scores on the measure of "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" already referred to. This suggests that direct transmission of cultural values from father to son, as well as more generalized and diffuse home background influences, may be important in forming boys' basic attitudes to employment.

Occupational intentions

At the time of our first contact with them at or near the date of school-leaving, half of the boys in the sample claimed to have a first job definitely fixed up. Almost all the others were able to specify at least one job or type of work in which they were interested. The main job aimed at by each boy was classified into categories derived from the CODOT system of occupational classification. As expected, leavers from grammar and technical schools, those who had stayed on to sit examinations (particularly "O" Levels) and those of higher academic potential all tended strongly to aim at jobs of higher skill and status. It was interesting that the major occupational distinction for this purpose was between "white collar" and "elite manual" jobs (e.g. skilled engineering, electrical work) on the one hand and the remaining manual occupations on the other. Scores on the scale of occupational aspiration gave a powerful prediction of the status-level of the job aimed at, as did the occupational status of other male members of the boy's family.

The relationships between these predictive factors and the nature and status of the job aimed at were examined separately for boys who had already accepted a job-offer and for those who were still at the stage of hopes and aspirations. The general pattern of interrelationships was very similar for the two sub-groups, where job-status was the criterion. From this it may be inferred that the crucial factor in determining the level (though not the field or detailed activity-content) of the first job entered on leaving school is level of aspiration, rather than the selectivity of the employment market as such. When applied to extreme cases, this conclusion is a fairly obvious one. For example, semi-literate fifteen year old leavers seldom have to be rejected as applicants for trainee professional posts simply because they seldom aspire to such levels. On the other hand, there is usually a very large overlap, in terms of the ability and personal qualities required, between jobs on different but adjacent rungs of the occupational status ladder and here level of aspiration, as determined by the various factors referred to, may well be crucial in determining whether a boy sets his foot on the lower or the higher rung.

Progress towards employment

There was considerable variation between boys in the amount of effort and practical progress which they had made by Stage I towards getting their first full-time job. At one extreme a small minority (8%) had already started work (in some cases before the official end of the school term) while at the other extreme 26% had not yet applied for any jobs. It was found that certain personal and background variables served to predict promptness or tardiness in setting about finding a job. Boys from unskilled working class backgrounds and those who had attended smaller, less academic schools had made significantly less progress than average, but the most powerful single determinant was the area of residence, or, by implication, the favourableness or unfavourableness of the local employment situation.

The most striking predictions were, however, obtained when the joint, interactive effects of personal and environmental factors were considered. For example, it was shown that abler boys and those aiming at higher status jobs were not seriously affected by area factors in their search for employment. By contrast, the earliest leavers and those aiming at lower level (i.e. mainly semi- or unskilled) manual work were more likely than others to have obtained jobs in "easy" employment areas, but in "hard" areas they were much less likely than average either to have obtained or even to have applied for jobs. Analysis from a slightly different angle showed that, in "hard" areas, where the general rate of progress in obtaining jobs was low, boys of minimal academic achievement tended to aspire to manual craft apprenticeships, but that the demand for such jobs far outran the supply. This was not true of "easier" areas.

Knowledge and expectations about work

Of those boys who claimed to have a job fixed up by the time of the Stage I interview, almost a quarter admitted that they did not have even a rough idea of what kind of work they would be given to do. On the other hand, even amongst those who had a job in mind but not yet fixed up, the vast majority (about 90%) were able to specify whether or not the job they hoped to obtain involved apprenticeship, what the starting pay would be and whether they expected to undertake any formal Further Education on starting in employment.

Scores on the occupational aspiration scale gave a significant prediction of which boys chose to aim at apprenticeships, as opposed to non-apprenticed manual work. However, actual progress made towards obtaining apprenticeships was more dependent upon the level of examinations sat (with CSE candidates at an advantage) and upon area employment environment.

Expected pay rates were highest by far amongst those boys who hoped or had arranged to enter non-manual employment and lowest amongst those aiming at manual apprenticeships. It was shown that a regular and thus apparently direct positive relationship between the level of examinations sat and expected rate of pay was in fact a by-product of differential occupational intentions (especially as regards apprenticeship) as between boys at different academic levels.

Expectations concerning Further Education were closely linked to occupational intentions, the proportions expecting to undertake FE being over 70% both for those aiming at non-manual work and for those aiming at apprenticeships, but only 38% for those aiming at non-apprenticed manual work. Overall, however, the proportion thinking in terms of FE was surprisingly high at 61%. The vast majority of FE courses contemplated were vocational courses at the apprenticeship level or below and most were seen as a compulsory (though not usually an unwelcome) feature of the job aimed at. There was a strong positive relationship between academic level attained at school and the expectation of undertaking FE, this being due mainly to the fact that boys who had stayed on to sit examinations were more likely to aim at jobs involving "automatic" FE. There was, nevertheless, a substantial minority of boys, even amongst 15 year old leavers, who proposed to undertake FE voluntarily, but there were some doubts as to how firm such commitments would prove to be in practice.

About one in six of those boys with a job already fixed up said that they would really have preferred some other job and it was suspected that many others had arrived at their occupational "choice" by a process of compromise or through lack of sufficient knowledge and initiative to envisage alternatives. The answers given to a question about what (if anything) the boy particularly liked about the job or type of work at which he was aiming were wide-ranging but seldom very full or explicit. However, as might be expected, marked differences were found in the perceived attractions of jobs in different occupational categories.

Help in choosing and finding a job - the role of parents

Of the parents questioned, 88% claimed to know what their son's immediate occupational intentions were and three quarters expressed approval of these. However, one in ten said they had never spoken to the boy about his career plans. More than one third mentioned some form of practical help which they had given, including almost one fifth who had contacted prospective employers on the boy's behalf. The boys themselves cited parents more frequently than any other persons as their foremost source of advice and help.

Only half of the parents said they had consulted some other adult about their son's post-school career, including 10% who said they had spoken to a member of the Youth Employment Service and 15% who had spoken to one of the boy's teachers. Four parents in ten spontaneously mentioned members of the YES as persons who might be able to help a boy as regards employment. Almost all had heard of Careers Officers and most had some general idea of what their functions were. Just under a third of parents could not suggest anybody, apart from his parents, who might be able to help a boy at this stage of his career. Only 37% could recall having been invited to attend their son's school-leaving interview with a Careers Officer and in only 25% of cases had one or both parents actually attended.

In general, a lower than average proportion of the parents of secondary modern pupils and of fifteen year old leavers had talked to their sons about career choice, or were able to cite third parties whom they had consulted or whom their sons might consult about careers. However, these parents had been at least as active as others in actually finding jobs for their sons and in attending Youth Employment interviews. The various indices of parents' knowledge of and concern about their son's career plans seemed to reflect an underlying attitude and it was shown that lack of knowledge and concern was associated with high scores on the "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" scale already described.

Help in choosing and finding a job - the role of the schools

Data bearing on careers work in the schools sampled were obtained from teachers, from Careers Officers and from the boys in the main sample. From the teachers' account it was found that 6% of the boys had attended schools where the head took personal responsibility for all careers work, while a further third had attended schools where the single careers teacher was expected to carry at least an average teaching load in non-careers subjects. The sample of schools contained no full-time careers teachers. In terms of overall staffing provision for careers work there was little difference between grammar/technical and secondary modern schools (comprehensive schools, being larger, were difficult to compare). However, the way in which the time of careers staff was spent varied according to type of school and type of leaver.

Only just over half the boys had been in school years where the careers teacher claimed to see all leavers individually (or in small groups of two or three), while in 5% of cases the teacher did not claim to see any leavers in the boy's year individually. One boy in ten attended a school where the careers teacher said he took the initiative in interviewing each leaver, but in general much of the onus was left upon individual boys to seek out the careers teacher if they needed help or advice.

Four boys in ten had received formal "careers lessons" as part of the regular curriculem, the proportion being higher (52%) for early leavers, but much lower for CSE and GCE candidates (20% and 12% respectively). Only 10% of leavers from grammar and technical schools had received careers lessons.

Almost all the boys in the sample had been exposed to occasional extra-curricular careers activities, such as contacts with members of the Youth

Employment Service (86%), visits to places of work (over 70%) and attendance at careers conventions (over 60%). Work visits were more frequent in the case of early leavers and pupils at secondary moderns.

Parents of pupils were quite frequently invited to school functions at which there was opportunity to discuss their child's future career with members of staff, but of the parents interviewed (mostly fathers) only 8% said they had discussed their son's future with the head teacher and 3% with a careers teacher.

Of the boys themselves, 18% did not seem to be aware that there was a particular teacher whose job it was to advise members of their school class about what they were going to do after leaving school. This proportion was higher among early leavers. Only a quarter of the sample of boys at Stage I recalled having had a personal talk with a careers teacher, but the proportion was higher (52%) at the small minority of schools where the teacher said he made a point of seeing all leavers individually. The proportion who had had a personal interview was highest for GCE candidates (44%) and lowest for early leavers (20%). This seems to be well below the level required by an adequate school-based careers guidance programme. However, it was noted that, of those boys who had had a personal interview with a careers teacher, some 30% judged the teacher to have been the most helpful of all those who had helped or advised them concerning careers.

According to the judgement of local Careers Officers familiar with the schools concerned, only 18% of the sample boys had left from school years for which careers provision was "completely adequate", as against 44% for whom careers provision was "inadequate". Provision for early leavers was judged to be rather better and that for GCE and CSE candidates rather worse than average.

Help in choosing and finding a job - the role of the Youth Employment Service

Virtually all the boys in the sample had heard of someone called the Careers Officer (or Youth Employment Officer) but 11% said that they had not yet had an interview with a Careers Officer. The proportion not yet seen rose to 24-25% in the case of GCE candidates and leavers from grammar and technical schools, probably because these boys tended to leave school at "non-standard" times of year. On the other hand, 55% of the boys had been interviewed once and 34% on two or more occasions. According to careers teachers, 61% of the boys in the sample had attended one or more talks given by a Careers Officer to a group of pupils, but the proportion fell to 26% in the case of GCE candidates and 30% in the case of leavers from grammar and technical schools.

Scores on a scale constructed to measure subjective reaction to Careers Officer interviews indicated that just over half the boys seen by a Careers Officer had reacted in a broadly favourable way, though few had responded positively, for example by seeking a further interview. Twenty seven percent said they had found the Careers Officer the most helpful of those who had helped or advised them concerning careers.

Analysis of the boys' accounts of what had taken place at CO interviews indicated that they themselves had mentioned jobs or types of work in which they were interested in 93% of cases, but that the Careers Officer had made job-suggestions of his own in only 35% of cases. At 62% of interviews the only jobs discussed had been suggested by the boy himself, while at 31% both parties had put forward suggestions. At only 4% of interviews had all job-suggestions come from the Careers Officer.

Some 41% of boys claimed that they had mentioned the job at which they were aiming at the time of our Stage I interview to the Careers Officer and that it had been approved by him, while only 5% said that this job had been disapproved by the Careers Officer. However, by Stage I, 45% of the boys were apparently aiming at a job different from any of those discussed at the CO interview. Parallel analysis of the Careers Officer's own reports of what had taken place at the interviews confirmed these overall figures.

It thus appears that the major impediment to the effectiveness of interviews conducted by Careers Officers as a careers guidance medium is that, at the time when these interviews normally take place (i.e. several months before school-leaving) almost half the boys interviewed have not sorted out their own employment ideas sufficiently to state a stable set of occupational preferences. In comparison with this problem, that caused by boys who adhere to unwise choices in direct defiance of the Careers Officer's advice is negligible.

Overall, 10% of boys who had had a CO interview had found one or more jobs suggested by the Careers Officer wholly acceptable, whereas 20% had rejected all the Careers Officer's suggestions. However, there was evidence that many boys had benefitted from the interview in less tangible ways - for example, through increased self-confidence and clarity in their thinking about careers choice.

CHAPTER I

AIMS, DESIGN AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

1.1 The aims of the study

This report is based upon data collected during the first stage of a study of youth employment, which was carried out on behalf of the Central Youth Employment Executive by the Social Survey Division of the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys.

The general aim of the enquiry was to make a study of a sample of young people during that period of vocational decision-making and of transition and adjustment to employment which begins shortly before the young person leaves secondary school and extends over the early part of his employment career.

Ideally, it would have been desirable to study simultaneously both boy and girl school-leavers of all ages from fifteen to eighteen. However, it was felt that a study in the required depth of the whole of this extremely wide spectrum of differing circumstances, abilities, aspirations etc. would be too complex a project to attempt with the resources available. It was therefore decided to limit the sample of young people studied to boys leaving school at or before the end of their fifth year of secondary education. This definition of the population to be studied includes a large majority of all male school-leavers, but excludes sixth formers and aspirants to Higher (though not Further) Education.

The study as a whole has both cross-sectional and longitudinal aspects. On the one hand, the plans, aspirations, attitudes and recent experiences of the youngsters at particular points in time (e.g. at the time of school leaving or after a few months in employment) were of interest. On the other hand, it was also considered essential to study the way in which personal and environmental variables influenced the development of the boys' early employment careers. In particular, it was hoped to learn something about the effectiveness of the roles played by the Youth Employment Service and by careers work in secondary schools in providing information, guidance and practical help to school-leavers and young workers.

In order to serve this second, longitudinal interest, the study was designed as a follow-up of a single sample of school-leavers. The boys themselves were seen on three separate occasions, namely: (1) at or about the time of school leaving; (2) about 6-8 months after this, by which time virtually all had entered employment and (3) 12-13 months later still (i.e. 18-20 months after the original contact). From several points of view it would have been desirable to extend the time-scale of the enquiry both backwards and forwards in relation to the boys' careers, so as to cover, on the one hand, the early development of vocational ideas and, on the other hand, the emergence of adult employment patterns. However, the time and resources available did not permit this.

At the first stage of data-gathering the aim was to collect a wide-ranging set of information about the boys as persons and about their home, school and area environments. At the two later stages this was to be supplemented.

by detailed information about the job or jobs which they entered. In addition, Stages II and III were to provide data from which criterion measures of adjustment to employment could be developed. These criterion measures would then be used to evaluate the contributions made by various types of factor, such as individual ability, personality and attitudes, home and school background and exposure to the efforts of the official careers guidance agencies, to success or failure in adjusting to the world of work.

Longitudinal or predictive analysis will thus require the use of suitably selected and prepared data from all three stages of the enquiry. However, Stage I, which took place as the boys in the sample left school during 1968 and 1969, may also be treated as a self-contained cross-sectional study of youngsters at this point in their lives. In the same way, the data gathered at Stages II and III provide a cross-sectional view of boys in the early stages of their employment careers.

The analysis and reporting of the study has therefore been organized in three phases. The present report deals with data gathered at Stage I of the enquiry only. This material is, in fact, very extensive, since a number of different sources of information were drawn upon in order to compile a fairly comprehensive picture of the boys' personal attributes and backgrounds (see the following sections). The approach used is basically descriptive, but much attention is paid to the development and validation of measures within each of a number of areas thought to be important from a predictive, as well as a descriptive, point of view. In practice, this means that much of the analysis and discussion is concerned with exploring and interpreting patterns of interrelationship between these and other variables. Later reports will deal, respectively, with the cross-sectional aspects of the data gathered at Stages II and III and with the longitudinal analysis of data from all three stages of the enquiry.

1.2 Research requirements

It appeared at the outset that there were four main types of factor likely to have a significant influence upon the course of the boys' transition from school to employment and upon the degree of success and satisfaction achieved in employment. These were as follows:

(1) Individual differences between boys as regards personal characteristics, such as vocational interests, abilities etc.

(2) Differences in relevant aspects of the boys' home and family backgrounds, such as social class, parental involvement in the boys' career decisions etc.

(3) Differences in the influences to which the boys had been exposed at secondary school, with special reference to the amount and nature of careers work carried on by or at the school.

(4) Differences in the environments to which the boys were exposed on entering the "employment market" and, subsequently, on starting in employment, with special reference to the range of opportunities available locally and to the nature and employment practices of the employing organization.

Our basic requirements, therefore, were, first, to obtain a suitable sample of school-leavers; second, to find adequate ways of measuring relevant personal attributes and environmental influences; and third, for the purposes of the longitudinal analysis, to devise ways of evaluating the effects of these factors upon the boys' progress in employment. In the present report we are concerned directly only with the first two of these requirements.

1.3 The sample design

The design and selection of a sample of school-leavers appropriate to the aims of the study presented a number of practical as well as statistical problems. These and the solutions adopted are fully discussed in Appendix A and will not be dealt with in detail here. However, it is necessary at this point to explain the main outline of the sample design, drawing attention briefly to certain aspects which have a bearing upon the interpretation of the study as a whole.

It was decided that the resources available for the study would be sufficient for a main sample of 1700-1800 school-leavers, to be drawn from a population of boys leaving school at or before the end of their fifth year of secondary education. It was known that the members of this population did not all leave school at the same point in the academic year; a majority left during or at the end of the Summer term, but a substantial minority, consisting mainly of 15 year olds leaving at the earliest opportunity, left at Easter. In order to obtain a representative sample, therefore, it was necessary to include individuals leaving school at various times during the year.

This raised practical problems in relation to another requirement of the study, namely, that boys should be contacted for the first time at or about the date of school-leaving. Much of the advantage of a longitudinal design would be lost unless all boys were seen at the identical stage in their careers. The solution adopted was to organize both the sampling and the interviewing of boys at Stage I in two phases, one phase of interviewing to take place at the end of the Summer and the other at the end of the Easter term. In this way the vast majority of the boys were seen very close to the date on which they left school.

Since a sample of boys leaving throughout one academic year was required, the obvious way to proceed would have been to sample first Easter Leavers and then Summer leavers. Unfortunately, to do this would have meant delaying the start of the study to an unacceptable extent and it was therefore decided to sample Summer leavers from one academic year (1967-68) and Easter leavers from the next (1968-69). Since secular changes in proportion of boys leaving at a given age are relatively slight from one year to the next (though a trend does exist) this straddling of school years probably does not seriously harm the representativeness of the sample.

A more serious design issue concerned the distribution of the sample of leavers as between geographical areas. A sample yielding results which were statistically representative, within small and defined margins of sampling error, of the situation in England and Wales, would have needed to be spread over a large number (say 150) of different geographical sampling points (i.e.

separate areas). Given the limited overall size of the sample of leavers, this would clearly have precluded any meaningful comparisons between area sub-samples of leavers. It would also have meant that special studies of individual sample areas, considered as employment environments, would not be feasible.

In view of these considerations it was decided not to aim for a widely (but very thinly) spread national sample, but instead to concentrate the study within 10 areas, giving 170-180 leavers to each area, on average. The areas themselves were selected by a method which was partly random and partly purposive, the aim being to represent as far as possible the range of different types of area employment environment. Within area, on the other hand, the sample was drawn to a (stratified and weighted) random design (for fuller details, see Appendix A).

A consequence of the decision to sample areas by this method is that no statistical guarantee can be given that results based upon the total sample of school-leavers, obtained by pooling area sub-samples, will exactly reflect the national situation. Nevertheless, most of the analyses to be presented in the chapters which follow were carried out using this pooled sample. The interpretation placed upon results obtained in this way will depend partly upon whether the pooled sample of school-leavers appears, in the light of such independent evidence as can be brought to bear, to be sufficiently typical of the national population. Evidence is presented in Chapters II and III to show that the sample does, in fact, yield distributions very close to national figures on a number of important variables. At the same time, it must be stressed that the aim of the study is not to produce national statistics showing the level or prevalence of this or that factor. We are concerned rather to identify and interpret broad but consistent patterns of interrelationship between variables, of a kind which would be relatively insensitive to deviations from the national distribution in the case of one or two variables. The reader should therefore be warned against interpreting isolated results, particularly where these refer to rare or patchily-occurring characteristics or phenomena, as though they were derived from a study designed to produce national statistics.

As against this, the concentration of the study within 10 areas makes it possible to compare area sub-samples of boys and to make inferences from the results about the effects of differences between areas as employment environments. It also permitted the employment characteristics of areas to be studied directly by means of an independent postal survey of employers. The results of this part of the enquiry will be used and discussed in the later reports referred to above, though they play no part in the present report.

Having selected ten areas as first stage sampling units, it was necessary to sample secondary schools at the second stage. This was done partly for the practical reason that a sample of (prospective) school-leavers can only be obtained through the co-operation of the schools concerned and partly because factors in the school environment which the boys were leaving, as well as factors in the employment environment to which they were exposed, were thought likely to affect their subsequent employment careers. For this latter purpose it was thought necessary to collect information about each school from which boys in the final sample of leavers were selected. The second stage sample, obtained by methods described in Appendix

A, consisted of 96 secondary schools, of which 54 were secondary moderns, 22 were grammar schools, 5 were secondary technical schools and 15 were comprehensives.

The schools having been selected, their co-operation had to be obtained in enumerating a population of prospective boy leavers in the required age groups, so that a sample of final stage units (boys) could be selected by random methods. The enumeration and selection exercise had to be carried out twice, in preparation for the Summer 1968 and Easter 1969 field-work phases. The aim throughout was to produce a final, Summer plus Easter sample of 1700-1800 boys about to leave school in order to enter employment (thus excluding those who proposed to continue their full-time education without obtaining a job).

It was decided to weight the selection of this final stage sample in such a way as to obtain a higher proportion of fifth year leavers and a correspondingly lower proportion of fourth year leavers than was actually to be found in the population. This was done because it was known that a majority of the population to be sampled (in fact about two thirds) consisted of boys leaving school during or at the end of their fourth year of secondary education, without sitting GCE or CSE examinations. In a simple random sample, therefore, the various categories of academically better-qualified fifth year leavers would occur only in numbers too small to permit much detailed analysis. Since there was some interest in the effect of different types and levels of academic qualification upon employment prospects, it seemed most efficient to ensure that the groups concerned were represented in greater numbers through use of appropriate weighting factors. Since probabilities of selection were known, it was possible to apply corrections at the analysis stage in order to obtain results representative of the population as a whole.

Since differential sampling fractions were also used as between different phases in the selection of leavers and at the second stage of sampling in the selection of schools, the reweighting system required in order to produce results representative of the population within area was a complex one. A more detailed account of the considerations involved and of the method of presenting reweighted results in the report will be found in Appendix A, Section 8.

To sum up, then: the final, achieved sample of school-leavers consisted of 1733 boys, drawn from 96 schools within ten areas. This sample was weighted in such a way as to contain a higher proportion of fifth year leavers (particularly GCE "O" Level candidates and leavers from grammar and technical schools) and a lower proportion of fourth year leavers than was actually found in the population. The results presented in this report have been reweighted so as to compensate for differential probabilities of selection within area. However, non-statistical considerations enter into the interpretation of results obtained by pooling area sub-samples of leavers.

As explained below, the boys themselves were by no means the only informants approached in the course of gathering data at Stage I of the enquiry. However, since the composition of the various subsidiary samples of informants was determined by that of the main sample of schools and school-leavers they raise no additional issues from the point of view of sample design.

1.4 Sources and methods

At the beginning of Section 1.2, four main types of factor were listed which it was thought might be related to success or failure in adjusting to employment. Figure 1.1 shows schematically how various sources of information and methods of data-collection were brought into play in order to ensure adequate coverage of topics under these four headings.

It will be seen that the overall research design called for data to be collected at Stage I, not only from the school-leavers themselves, but also from their fathers, from the head and careers teachers and other teachers who knew the boys well at the schools which they attended, from Careers Officers (i.e. members of the local Youth Employment Service) and from local employers. The statistical survey of secondary schools referred to was carried out as part of the same operation as the interviews with head teachers. Data from all these sources except for the employers are used in the analyses presented and discussed in this report. The objectives and methods of the various data-gathering exercises will now be reviewed in more detail.

(a) Interviews with the boys

The focus of the enquiry is, of course, upon the sample of school-leavers whose selection was described in the preceding section. The main aim of data-collection at all stages was therefore to obtain valid and reliable information bearing upon the boys' personal attributes, or upon those aspects of their home, school and employment environments thought likely to influence the course of their transition and adjustment to the world of work.

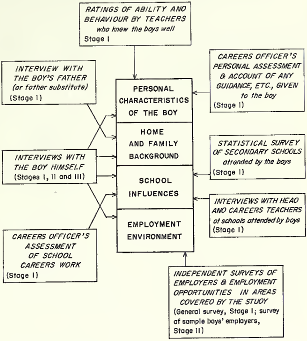
For many of the topics on which information was sought, the most obvious and appropriate source was the boy himself. This was true, for example, of such topics as occupational values, aspirations and intentions; attitudes to education and to employment; details of attempts so far made to obtain a job and of jobs fixed up or applied for; nature and sources of any vocational help or guidance received and so on. At Stages II and III of the enquiry details of employment career and experiences and of subjective reaction to employment also had to be obtained directly from the boy. The method of data collection in each case was a personal interview using a standardized schedule, supplemented by questionnaires or the like completed by the boy in the presence of the interviewer. Facsimiles of the field documents used at Stage I will be found in Appendix D.

Information thus obtained from the boys themselves plays a most important role in the analysis upon which the present report is based. However, there were a number of other relevant and important topic areas for which it was felt that the school-leavers were not the best available source of information. These included both aspects of the boys as individuals and aspects of their home, school and employment environments.

Under the first heading come academic ability or potential (as distinct from actual examinations sat or passed); various behavioural traits likely to have a bearing upon employment potential; and degree of suitability or aptitude (as distinct from interest or preference) for particular occupations or types of employment. In principle, it should be possible to measure all or most of these traits by means of appropriate tests admin-

Figure 1.1

FIELD OPERATIONS CONDUCTED AND SOURCES OF DATA USED


RATINGS OF ABILITY AND BEHAVIOUR BY TEACHERS who knew the boys well Stage I
INTERVIEW WITH THE BOY'S FATHER (or father substitute) (Stage I)
CAREERS OFFICER'S PERSONAL ASSESSMENT & ACCOUNT OF ANY GUIDANCE, ETC., GIVEN to the boy (Stage I)
PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOY
HOME AND FAMILY BACKGROUND
SCHOOL INFLUENCES
EMPLOYMENT ENVIRONMENT
INTERVIEWS WITH THE BOY HIMSELF (Stages I, II and III)
STATISTICAL SURVEY OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS attended by the boys (Stage I)
INTERVIEWS WITH HEAD AND CAREERS TEACHERS of schools attended by boys (Stage I)
CAREERS OFFICER'S ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL CAREERS WORK (Stage I)
INDEPENDENT SURVEYS OF EMPLOYERS & EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN AREAS COVERED BY THE STUDY (General survey, Stage I; survey of sample boys' employers, Stage II)

istered to the individuals concerned. However, in practice the scope for such an approach was severely restricted, since our access to the boys was limited, the circumstances under which they were seen were unsuited to the administration of formal tests and there were many other claims upon the interview time available. It was accordingly decided to obtain ratings and assessments of the boys from third parties, namely, teachers and Careers Officers, whom we believed to be well-qualified and experienced in making the type of judgements required. The methods used in obtaining these assessments are described below.

As regards environmental influences, the evidence of the boys themselves is clearly required where subjective perception of such influences is in question. However, a boy's subjective perceptions of or feelings about his home, school and area environments are unlikely to provide a complete or unbiassed picture of what those environments are actually like in objective or comparative terms. In any case, as already remarked, the amount of ground which could be adequately covered in the course of a single interview with each boy at Stage I was limited. What was required, therefore, was either independent, objective measures of the relevant enrironmental factors or, failing that, assessments by informed and independent observers. It was to obtain measures and assessments of this kind that the Stage I interviews with parents, teachers and Careers Officers, the statistical survey of sampled schools and the postal surveys of employers were carried out.

(b) Interviews with parents

In order to obtain information regarding home and family influences upon the boys' attitudes, values and behaviour at the stage of transition from full-time education to employment, it was decided to interview one parent of each boy. The sample of parents was thus basically determined by the sample of boys, but a decision remained to be made on which of the boy's parents we should attempt to interview.

A survey of previous research in the field failed to produce any clear-cut guidance on this point, but after consideration it was decided that, at this particular stage in his son's career, the father was the best person to approach. In practice, of course, it turns out that a certain proportion of boys have no natural father, or even step-father, alive, present in the household or available for interview and a substitute - normally the boy's mother - has to be accepted. About 85% of the parents interviewed were, in fact, natural fathers, 11% were mothers and the remainder were guardians or bore some other relationship to the boy.

The main topics covered in the parent's interview were: the parent's degree of contact with his son; his knowledge of and views on the son's employment prospects; his own attitudes and values in the fields of education and employment; his own employment status and history; occupations of other members of the family; household and family structure; the educational level and qualifications (if any) of both parents; details of household accommodation and income. (For full details of coverage, see Appendix D).

(c) Teachers' Assessments

OPCS interviewers who visited the schools in the sample in order to carry out Stage I interviews with the boys were also responsible for a number of other data-gathering operations. Having contacted the head teacher (see below) they arranged for a Teacher's Assessment form relating to each boy in the sample at the school to be passed for completion to a teacher who knew the boy well. The form included check questions to determine for how long and in what capacity the teacher had known the boy and the answers to these showed that our aim of securing the help of a teacher well acquainted with the boy had been achieved in the vast majority of cases. The rest of the form (see Appendix D) asked the teacher to rate the boy's academic potential, his school attendance record and various aspects of his behaviour in school. The completed forms were collected by interviewers at the end of the interviewing programme at the school and returned to headquarters.

Virtually all the assessment forms distributed to teachers were duly completed and returned as described. Unfortunately, however, it was for operational reasons impossible to obtain assessments of boys included in the supplementary Summer sample of leavers (see Appendix A, Section 6(b)), who accounted for about 9% of the total sample.

(d) School Details Forms

As explained in Section 1.3 above, the selection of a sample of secondary schools was a necessary step in obtaining the main sample of boy school-leavers, and Stage I interviews with the boys were also mainly organized through the schools. In addition, however, the research design called for a study to be made of the sample schools, considered as organizational environments which might influence the aspirations, attitudes and progress of their pupils both within and beyond the purely academic sphere.

In order to take account of various types of school environment factor which it was thought might be relevant, two features were built into the study design. Firstly, the official classification of each school in the sample (i.e. grammar, secondary modern etc.) was recorded at the sampling stage and subsequently used as a main analysis category. Secondly, arrangements were made with the head teacher of each school for a short School Details Form to be completed. On this form were recorded facts and figures relating to the size and structure of the school, the proportion of pupils sitting public examinations and several other matters (see Appendix D). These data were processed at the analysis stage in such a way as to derive measures of various characteristics considered relevant for classifying schools as "organizational environments".

(e) Interviews with head teachers

The approach to the problem of quantifying school environmental variables which was mentioned in the previous sub-section has certain limitations. In particular, it concentrates upon rather generalized characteristics, such as size and structure, rather than upon aspects of school policy and organization directly related to such matters as careers guidance and preparation for school leaving.

Under the British system of secondary education, the head teacher exercises much power and influence within the school and has great discretion in deciding how broad educational aims shall be pursued and what relative priorities shall be assigned to them by the teachers and pupils under his authority. The views of the head are therefore likely to be of great importance in determining the policy of the school in matters affecting youth employment.

In recognition of this, the head of each sampled school was interviewed by one of the OPCS interviewers who visited the school in order to contact boys in the main sample. The interview schedule covered the following main topics: school organization as it affected boys in the fourth and fifth years; special measures (if any) taken to prepare these boys for school-leaving and to provide careers help and guidance; which members of the school staff were involved in careers work; contacts between the school and the local Youth Employment Services; social class distribution of pupils at the school.

(f) Interviews with careers teachers

Whereas the general policy of the school in matters of careers guidance etc. was covered in the course of interviews with head teachers, it was felt that further and more detailed information should be sought about the methods used in implementing the policy. Interviews were accordingly carried out with those teachers identified by the head as being responsible for careers work with fourth and fifth year boy leavers at the school.

At some schools - particularly the larger ones - more than one teacher had some responsibility for careers work with such boys, while at the other extreme was a small number of schools at which all careers work was the responsibility of the head himself. In these latter cases it was felt to be too much of an imposition to demand a second full-scale interview with the same person, so only two key questions from the Careers Teachers schedule were asked. Otherwise, the main topics covered in the interviews were as follows: details of the teacher's exact careers work role and of the amount of his time devoted to it; details of careers lessons (if any) given to pupils at the school and of other careers activities; policy pursued in contacting individual leavers so as to give careers help or guidance; details of teachers' and pupils' contacts with the local Youth Employment Service; details of physical facilities for careers work at the school; details of the teacher's attendance at courses etc. connected with careers work. (For further details, see Appendix D).

(g) Youth Employment Assessments

In order to obtain Youth Employment Assessments of the boys in the sample it was necessary first to consult with Principal Careers Officers in charge of the areas where the study took place, so as to determine which Careers Officers had carried out the interviewing of fourth and fifth year boy leavers in the selected schools. This having been done, the Officers concerned were contacted by OPCS interviewers detailed for the task and arrangements were made for Youth Employment Assessments to be completed.

The procedure used in completing the Assessments was for the OPCS interviewer to read out a predetermined list of questions concerning each school leaver to the Officer who had carried out a guidance interview with that particular boy. The questions were of two types. Some asked for details of what had been said at the interview or interviews which the Officer had conducted with the boy, while others asked him to rate or assess the boy in a number of respects relevant to his employment potential.

The Officers answered these questions with the aid of their notes, taken at the time of the guidance interview; these were in most cases supplemented by the Officer's direct recollections (almost all the boys had been seen within the preceding three months).

As in the case of Teachers' Assessments, it was unfortunately impossible to obtain Youth Employment Assessments for the 9% of boys included in the supplementary Summer sample (see Appendix A, Section 6(b)).

(h) Interviews with Careers Officers

It was felt that Careers Officers were also in a good position to provide information of another type, namely, independent assessments of the standard of careers work provision in the sampled schools and of the area employment environment to which boys were likely to be exposed on leaving school. For the purpose of obtaining assessments of this kind, short interviews were conducted with selected Careers Officers, using the Youth Employment Staff schedule (see Appendix D).

1.5 Analytic possibilities and limitations of the data

As explained in preceding sections, the data used in the analysis of Stage I of the enquiry were obtained from a number of different groups of informants, namely, boys, parents, teachers and Careers Officers. The aim throughout was to build up as complete and reliable a picture as possible of a sample of younger boy school-leavers and of relevant aspects of their home, school and area environments. The formidable mass of data gathered in the field was then passed through several preliminary stages of processing, before being assembled and integrated on a single computer tape for purposes of substantive analysis.

Even this Stage I master tape, of course, represents only one part of the assemblage of data from all three stages of the enquiry which is required for the longitudinal analysis. From a cross-sectional viewpoint, however, it enables a very wide range of relationships between personal attributes, environmental conditions and behavioural and attitudinal variables to be examined. Some of the many possible lines of investigation are followed up in the chapters which follow.

Having said this, we must add that there are, as always, limitations upon the types of analysis and interpretation which can usefully be attempted. These limitations are imposed (a) by the nature of the populations sampled, (b) by the nature of the sample design and (c) by the nature of some of the data obtained.

As regards the population of school-leavers sampled, an important fact to be kept in mind is that this did not consist of 15-16 year old boys in general, not yet of boy school-leavers in general, but of boys who elected to leave school during or at the end of their fourth or fifth years of secondary education. There were, of course, particular reasons for limiting the enquiry to this group (see Section 1.1 above) and the results obtained may be applied to it in a straightforward and meaningful way. On the other hand, it is sometimes useful to view these results in a wider context, by relating the characteristics of 15 and 16 year old boy school-leavers as sampled to those of the school-boy population as a whole, or of other relevant sub-populations within it. In certain instances it has been possible to draw upon the results of other studies or upon official national statistics in order to make comparisons of this kind (see, for example, Chapters II and III of the report).

Since the other populations sampled for the purposes of the enquiry are all defined by their relationship to the central sample of school-leavers, the limitation of lack of generality applies a fortiori to them also. For this reason little attempt has been made to analyse the data obtained from these samples separately or in their own right and they have been treated for the most part simply as sources of information about the central sample of school-leavers. The only important exception to this rule is provided by certain analyses reported in Chapter IX, which deals with careers work in the schools. Here it seemed worthwhile for special reasons to include a section in which the units of analysis were schools, rather than school-leavers, and the information provided by head teachers, careers teachers and Careers Officers was reanalysed from that viewpoint.

The limitations imposed by the nature of the sampling design are fully discussed in Section 1.3 above and in Appendix A, so the general argument need not be repeated here. In general, these limitations matter most where unevenly-distributed attributes or entities are concerned. An example is provided by the distribution of comprehensive schools: our sample includes 15 of these, but all but three were clustered within two of the ten areas covered by the enquiry. Hence, when considering some apparent peculiarity of leavers from comprehensive schools, it is always necessary to ask whether this may not be a concealed area effect. The same caution applies in reverse where area sub-samples are being compared. These and related considerations have influenced the choice of analyses to be carried out and of results to be presented in the report. Where particular cautions or qualifications apply, these have been noted in the text.

As regards the nature of the data, it will have been noted that some items were obtained on a boy-by-boy basis, whether from the leavers themselves, from their parents, or from teachers and Careers Officers who assessed them individually, but that other items were obtained school by school (or class by class) from head teachers, careers teachers and Careers Officers. Since the final units of analysis were individual leavers in almost all cases, information in the second category could only be brought to bear by imputing to individual boys assessments which had been applied by a teacher or Careers Officer to the school year or class of which the boy had been a member. This procedure must clearly involve errors of approximation and generalization. Further remarks on this topic will be found in the commentary on results derived from data of the type referred to (mainly in Chapter IX). Quite apart from this issue, of course, the various sources of information drawn on in the course of the study all have their particular strengths and weaknesses which affect the reliability and validity of the data obtained. However, we are confident that the overall quality of the data has been improved by the design policy of seeking particular items of information from the source best qualified to provide it, within some cases overlaps to allow for cross-checking, rather than relying throughout upon a single source, i.e. the boys themselves.

1.6 Presentation of results in the report

(a) Reweighting of data

As explained in Section 1.3 and in Appendix A, a stratified and weighted random sampling design was used in selecting school-leavers within area. In order to obtain results which were representative (within margins of sampling error) of the population of leavers from which the sample was drawn, it was necessary to apply reweighting factors at the computer analysis stage. All results in the report, with the exception of those in Section 9.6, were calculated on reweighted figures and the bases for percentaging shown are also reweighted, so as to maintain arithmetical consistency. The considerations leading to the decision to proceed in this way are discussed in detail at Appendix A, Section 8.

(b) Missing data and inconsistency of distributions

An important feature of the analyses upon which the present report is based is that they frequently interrelate data derived from different sources. Thus, for example, data supplied by the boys themselves are at various points related to rating scores provided by teachers, occupational information obtained from the boy's father, assessments made by Careers Officers and so on.

Now, it is obvious that analyses which bring together data from different sources can be usefully performed only upon those cases for which data from both sources are available. The number of such cases will vary from one analysis to another. For example, the number of cases for which we have information from both the boy and his father is not the same as the number of cases for which we have both a Boy's Interview Schedule and a Teacher's Assessment. On the whole, such discrepancies are fairly small and are due to minor variations in response rates as between samples. The largest shortfalls occur in the case of data derived from the Teachers' Assessments and from the Youth Employment Assessments, which were not available for some 154 boys included in the supplementary Summer sample (see Section 1.4 and Appendix A, Section 6 (b)). There were also about 80 boys for whom no parental interview data were obtained.

Since the information supplied by the boys themselves is central to the whole study, cases where this information is missing (about 60-70 eligible boys) have been completely excluded from the analysis. In other cases the issues raised by missing data have been considered on their merits for each set of tables etc. In many instances it was thought best simply to exclude cases for which data were absent and base the analysis upon the remainder, since the omission of the former had no bearing upon the results shown or the conclusions drawn and to append a detailed account of them would have been both tedious and confusing. Hence minor fluctuations in the distribution of cases over the same variable or classification appear from one table to another. On the other hand, where there seemed to be any risk that exclusion of cases where data were missing might be misleading or introduce bias into the results, the issues have been raised and discussed in the text and efforts have been made to present the results in an appropriate and non-misleading form.

(c) Presentation of percentages

Most of the results used in the report are presented in the form of percentaged tables. All percentages are given correct to the nearest whole percent, in order to facilitate the reading of tables. Since each individual percentage shown is thus an approximation, it will be found that in some cases columns or rows do not add to exactly 100%. In such cases the total is nevertheless shown (correctly) as 100%.

Where an entry in a percentage table is greater than zero but less than 0.5%, the symbol * has been used.

CHAPTER II

THE BOYS AND THEIR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

2.1 Introduction

One of the main aims of this report is to provide a general description of the sample of school-leavers upon whose careers the study as a whole is focussed. School-leaving is, almost by definition, a time of change and transition and it is therefore not altogether clear which dimensions of classification are most appropriate. Ideally, one might wish to classify boys according to the type of employment for which they were destined, but at Stage I there was no reliable means of establishing this in a large proportion of cases. We have therefore made much use of classifications based upon details of the boys' careers in secondary education, on the assumption that educational attainment and potential are likely to be fairly closely related to employment prospects. This assumption is also made by the Youth Employment Service and by other careers guidance and placement agencies, so that educational classifications provide a convenient frame of reference for discussion of practical youth employment issues.

There are, of course, many other factors which influence a boy's employment prospects and potential and it must not be uncritically assumed that his performance within the academic environment of secondary education gives a true and accurate prediction of his performance in the world of work. However, it can scarcely be denied that "paper qualifications" (or the lack of them) tend increasingly to determine a school-leaver's subsequent type and level of employment. Such qualifications can, it is true, be acquired through further, as well as through secondary, education and it may well be that there is a long-term trend in this direction. Yet even so, the academic level attained at secondary school still tends to determine both access to further education and the level of entry to and exit from the further educational system (see Chapter VIII). Hence measures based upon the individual leaver's performance in secondary education may reasonably be assumed to be key ones for the purposes of the study.

In this chapter we shall first consider distributions of the sample in terms of personal educational characteristics, comparing these where possible with national distributions both for 15 and 16 year old leavers and for boy school leavers in general. Some significant interrelationships between these variables will then be examined. Next, we consider methods of classifying secondary schools as institutional environments and some relationships between institutional and personal characteristics. Finally, we compare area sub-samples in terms of the distribution of both these types of educational variable.

2.2 Distribution of the sample of school-leavers by type of school attended and by personal educational characteristics

At the time when our sample was drawn, there were four officially-distinguished types of maintained secondary school in England and Wales, namely, grammar, secondary technical, secondary modern and comprehensive (including bilateral and multilateral). The first three of these represent the older, tripartite system of secondary education, which was still in operation in some of the areas sampled. In other areas this system had been, or was in course of being, replaced by a comprehensive system.

As is well known, the technical school sector of the tripartite system in practice failed to develop to the same extent as the grammar and secondary modern sectors. The number of secondary technical school remained relatively small and their geographical distribution uneven, as compared with that of the other two types of secondary school. This is reflected in the composition of our sample of schools, which comprised 54 secondary moderns, 21 grammar schools, 15 comprehensives and only 6 secondary technical schools. This small sample of technical schools yielded a total of only 93 leavers, which is rather a small number for separate analysis. Furthermore, preliminary analysis tended to confirm the general impression that leavers from technical schools resembled those from grammar schools in a number of respects. It was therefore decided, for the purposes of the main analysis, to combine the sub-samples of leavers from grammar and technical schools into a single category, thus reducing the number of school-types distinguished to three, namely, grammar/technical, comprehensive and secondary modern.

Table 2.1 Distribution of the sample by type of school attended, compared with the distribution of all boys leaving maintained secondary schools

TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED	Present sample of 15-16 year old boy leavers+	All boys leaving maintained secondary schools 1967-68°
	%	%
Grammar/technical	11	22
Comprehensive	22	22
Secondary modern	67	56
TOTAL	100	100
Base (reweighted)+	1728	

+ Here and elsewhere in this report, unless otherwise indicated, sample proportions cited are based upon number reweighted so as to represent the population sampled. See Appendix A, Section 8.

° Source: Statistics of Education 1967-68, Volume 2.

It can be seen immediately from Table 2.1 that our sample contains a rather higher proportion of secondary modern pupils and a correspondingly lower proportion of grammar/technical school pupils than did the general population of boys leaving maintained secondary schools in 1967-68 (figures for

England and Wales from the DES publication "Statistics of Education 1967-68"). This difference is a reflection of the fact that our sample represents, not "all leavers", but "pre-sixth-form leavers" only. Table 2.2 shows that 97% of all secondary modern leavers in 1967-68 left by the end of their sixteenth (or "fifth form") year, compared with 79% of comprehensive school leavers and only 33% of grammar school leavers. It may therefore be said that our sample contains a virtually complete cross-section of boys leaving secondary modern schools, represents the majority of leavers from comprehensive schools (though not the significant minority who stay on beyond the end of their fifth year), but draws on only a minority (about one third) of grammar/technical school leavers.

Table 2.2 Proportions of all boy leavers from maintained secondary schools who were aged 17 and over and 16 and under on leaving (1967-68)*

	TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED		
BOYS' AGES ON LEAVING SCHOOL	Grammar/ Technical	Comprehensive	Secondary modern
	%	%	%
16 or under ("pre-sixth-form" leavers)	33	79	97
17 or over ("sixth form" leavers)	67	21	3
TOTAL	100	100	100

* Figures derived from Statistics of Education 1967-68, Volume 2.

The points made in the previous paragraph must constantly be borne in mind in considering all analyses by school type presented in this report. In particular, it is essential to remember that our sample of pre-sixth-form leavers from grammar/technical schools is likely to be highly atypical of grammar/technical school pupils in general. Evidence on this point will be cited from time to time in what follows.

Let us now consider the academic level which the boys in the sample had achieved at secondary school. The most obvious objective index of a pupil's academic level is the number of subjects which he has passed, or in which he has achieved an acceptable grade, at CSE and/or GCE "O" Level. Unfortunately, Stage I of the present study took place at a time of year when many boys did not yet know the results of examinations they had recently sat (this information was subsequently obtained at Stage II). For the purposes of this report, therefore, we can only look at examinations sat, as opposed to examination results. Although only a second-best criterion, "examinations sat" at least provides an index of each pupil's maximum level of secondary school achievement and is therefore of some relevance for our purpose.

Table 2.3 gives a simplified breakdown of the sample by type of examination sat, within school type. The figures have been percentaged in two different ways: the unbracketed entries are percentages based upon column totals, while the bracketed entries are percentages based upon the grand total (i.e. the whole sample).

Table 2.3 Level of examinations sat by boys in the sample analysed by school type

LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT	TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED			
	Grammar or Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Subjects at GCE "O" Level only	42 (5)	2 (*)	1 (1)	(6)
Mainly GCE subjects$^+$, but some at CSE	13 (1)	2 (*)	2 (1)	(3)
Mainly CSE subjects, but some at GCE	16 (2)	15 (3)	8 (5)	(10)
Subjects at CSE only	9 (1)	19 (4)	14 (10)	(15)
No subjects either at GCE or at CSE	20 (2)	62 (14)	75 (50)	(67)
TOTAL	100 (11)	100 (22)	100 (67)	(100)
Base for percentages (reweighted)	189	385	1153	1728

$^+$ i.e. At least 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, sat at GCE "O" Level.

Let us first consider the percentages within school type (unbracketed entries). The top two rows of the table show, as might be expected, that leavers who sat only or mainly subjects at GCE "O" Level are common in grammar/technical schools, but rare elsewhere. However, it would certainly be wrong to treat this difference as a measure of the difference in ability between leavers from grammar/technical schools and leavers from other types of secondary school. The selection of examinations for which a pupil is to be entered is influenced by institutional factors to do with the school and its organization, as well as by the pupil's individual ability. The next two rows of the table show that the highest proportion of CSE candidates is to be found in comprehensive schools, while the bottom row shows that three-quarters of the leavers from secondary modern schools, but only a fifth of the leavers from grammar/technical schools, had sat no examinations at either CSE or GCE. The vast majority in this category were, of course, fourth year leavers.

Turning now to the bracketed percentages, it can be seen that two thirds of the entire sample left without sitting any subjects at CSE or GCE. Boys in this category at secondary modern schools alone accounted for half the sample. By way of contrast, only 9% of the entire sample - of whom 6% were at grammar/technical schools - had sat only or mainly "O" Level subjects and only 25% had sat only or mainly CSE+.

In general, then, there were rather few boys in the sample who even stood a chance of emerging from secondary school with good qualifications at the GCE "O" Level standard and a great many destined to leave without any nationally-recognized qualifications. The tendency for better-qualified boys to stay on into the sixth form had obviously gone a long way at the time the sample was drawn. It is against this background that results and inferences concerning levels of achievement and ability in the sample should always be interpreted.

It was remarked above that a pupil's ability is by no means the only determinant of the level and number of examinations for which he is entered. To cite only the most obvious constraints, the pupil may elect to leave school without sitting examinations which he is, in fact, capable of passing, or the school may lack the teaching resources required for an examination course. Hence examination candidacy, or even examination achievement, is a very imperfect and imprecise measure of potential ability. Yet, to the extent that the present study is concerned with post-school performance in fields not entirely dissimilar to that of academic education, a measure of potential ability is clearly required.

Where ability is in question it might be thought that the most obvious course would have been to administer some sort of tests to the boys in the sample, so as to obtain an independent set of measures. Unfortunately, however, the conditions under which the boys were seen and the other demands upon interview time made the administration of tests on the scale required impracticable.

The best way around this difficulty seemed to be to try to obtain a direct measure of "examination-passing potential" by asking teachers who knew the boys well in the school situation to rate them on this variable (see also Section 1.4 above). For this purpose we used a slightly modified version of a scale originally developed by the National Foundation for Educational Research and subsequently used in the "Young School Leavers" study (Schools Council Enquiry 1). Conceptually, the scale is a somewhat crude instrument, since it assumes, without any empirical proof, that the academic standards of the GCE "O" Level and the CSE examinations have a particular relationship to one another. In practice, however, teachers seemed to find it a meaningful yardstick against which to rate the examination-passing potential of pupils over the whole range of ability. Table 2.4 shows the

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+ It should, perhaps be noted that, amongst the great mass of otherwise unqualified leavers there was a significant proportion who had obtained a "Leaving Certificate" (e.g. the Northern Counties School Leaving Certificate) which is awarded to fourth year leavers by local or regional bodies. These certificates may well have carried some weight with local employers familiar with the standards applied. However, lower-level qualifications of this type were very unevenly distributed amongst the sample (depending, no doubt, on the policy of individual schools and Education Authorities) and cannot be equated on a national standard, as is the case with CSE and GCE. They have therefore been ignored in the present analysis.

Table 2.4 Distribution of the sample of boys by Teacher's Academic Rating score within school type

RATED ACADEMIC POTENTIAL CAPABLE OF PASSING -	TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED Grammar or Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
At least one subject at GCE "A" Level	8	2	2	3
At least 4 subjects at GCE "O" Level or CSE Grade 1	27	6	4	7
1-3 subjects at GCE "O" Level or CSE Grade 1	38	18	13	17
At least 3 subjects at CSE (all below Grade 1)	15	23	21	21
1-2 subjects at CSE (below Grade 1)	9	24	23	22
No subjects at GCE "O" Level or CSE	3	27	37	31
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Base for % (reweighted)	169	354	1055	1578

distribution of scores on this rating scale which were assigned to boys in the sample, both within school type and overall.

Table 2.4 shows that, overall, some 27% of the sample of boys were considered by their teachers to be capable of passing at least one subject at GCE "O" Level or the equivalent. A further 43% were thought capable of achieving a grade in at least one subject at CSE, leaving 31% whose ability fell below this level. These figures may be compared with the 19% of the overall sample who had sat at least one subject at GCE "O" Level, the 15% who had sat no subjects at "O" Level but at least one at CSE and the 66% who had sat no subjects at either examination. The comparison makes it clear that the general level of rated academic potential amongst boys in the sample is considerably higher than might be suggested by the maximum level of academic achievement (at secondary school) as measured by examinations sat. We shall return to this point below.

As might be expected, the average level of rated potential is at its highest amongst leavers from grammar/technical schools and at its lowest amongst leavers from secondary modern schools, with comprehensive schools intermediate between these. However, it is noticeable that the gradient of rated potential, as between school types, is less steep than the gradient defined by proportions sitting GCE and CSE examinations (see Table 2.3).

.3 Some comparisons showing to what extent the sample is nationally representative of pre-sixth-form leavers in terms of academic characteristics

As was explained in Section 1.2 above, the number of areas within which leavers were selected for the survey sample was not large enough to guarantee, on strictly statistical grounds, that the characteristics of the sample of leavers accurately reflect those of the national population from which it was drawn. It is therefore desirable to check the representativeness of the sample, wherever possible, against independent criteria. In the case of academic characteristics, two suitable independent sources for this purpose are available, namely, the annual D.E.S. publication "Statistics of Education" and the results of the "Young School Leavers" enquiry.

Table 2.5 Comparison of distributions by school type, leaving age and examinations sat (a) within the present sample and (b) as abstracted from "Statistics of Education 1967-68"

(a) Present sample

LEAVING AGE AND EXAMINATIONS SAT	TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED			
	Grammar or Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Sat at least one subject at GCE "O" Level	8	4	7	19
Sat at least one subject at CSE	4	8	17	29
Left school aged 15	3	15	52	69
TOTAL sample	11	22	67	100

(b) Figures for 15-16-year-old boy school-leavers abstracted from Statistics of Education 1967-68

LEAVING AGE AND EXAMINATIONS SAT	TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED			
	Grammar or Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Sat at least one subject at GCE "O" Level	8	4	8	20
Sat at least one subject at CSE	5	9	20	33
Left school aged 15	2	15	52	68
TOTAL	9	22	69	100

Let us first consider the distribution of our sample with respect to leaving age, school type and the sitting of GCE and CSE examinations. In Tables 2.5(a) and (b) the sample distribution and that abstracted from "Statistics of Education 1967-68" are compared. It should be noted that the three categories "Sat at least one "O" Level subject", "Sat at least one CSE subject" and "Left school aged 15" are not mutually exclusive and therefore add to more than the total both within school type and overall. The published statistics are presented in such a way that this overlap of categories cannot be avoided if comparisons are to be made. All percentages are based on the grand totals.

It will be seen that there is, in practically all respects, a near-perfect agreement between corresponding entries in the two tables.

Turning now to the rated academic potential of the sample, we are fortunate in once again having available a standard against which the national representativeness of the obtained distribution may be checked. This is because a closely similar version of the rating scale was used in the "Young School Leavers" study (Schools Council Enquiry 1), which covered a national cross-section of pupils at maintained secondary schools. The appropriate comparison is made in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6 Distribution of Teachers' Academic Rating scores for the present sample compared with the distribution for boys in the "Young School Leavers" sample who either had left, or were intending to leave, school aged 15-16

	15-16 YEAR OLD BOY LEAVERS	
TEACHER'S ACADEMIC RATING	Present Sample	"Young School Leavers" Sample
Boy judged capable of passing:-	%	%
At least one subject at GCE "A" Level	3	4
At least one subject at GCE "O" Level or CSE grade 1	24	26
CSE in 3 or more subjects, but below grade 1	21	20
CSE in 1 or 2 subjects, but below grade 1	22	17
Not capable of passing any of the above	31	33
TOTAL	100	100
Number of boys rated	1556	1555

It can be seen from Table 2.6 that, on the whole, the two distributions are closely similar, the largest discrepancy in any one category being 5%. This is probably as close a correspondence as one could expect, bearing in mind that the ages of the "Young School Leavers" sample at the time of the survey ranged from thirteen to sixteen and that the younger boys were therefore classified on the basis of the age at which they intended to leave school, rather than the age at which they actually left.

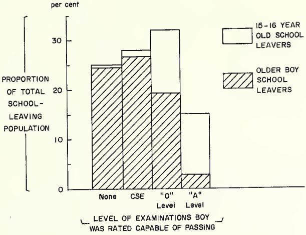
The above comparisons suggest that our sample is reasonably representative of the national population of 15-16 year old boy leavers, both as regards the type of examinations sat and as regards rated academic potential. This provides some basis for drawing more general conclusions from results based on the present sample, though it would, of course, be quite wrong to assume that a sample which is representative in one or two respects is necessarily representative in all respects.

2.4 Distribution of academic potential within the sample as compared with its distribution over the school population as a whole

It has already been remarked that the teachers' academic ratings give a significantly more optimistic picture of the distribution of academic ability amongst boys in the sample than does the record of examinations actually sat. The most important reason for this discrepancy is certainly that

Figure 2.1

RELATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS OF PRE-SIXTH FORM LEAVERS AND ALL BOY LEAVERS IN TERMS OF RATED ACADEMIC POTENTIAL



many boys elect to leave school before reaching the stage of sitting examinations which they have the ability to pass. The implication here is that the "sieving" of the secondary school population which occurs when certain pupils decide to leave - whether at the fourth or the fifth year stage - is not a completely effective method of sorting out the most able boys for sixth form education. (Not, of course, that it is necessarily desirable that only the most able should stay on into the sixth form). By the same token, we may wonder to what extent the population represented by our sample really has been "creamed" of boys of higher ability.

A certain amount of light may be thrown on this question by re-analysis of data from the "Young School Leavers" study, as is shown graphically in Figure 2.1.

The scale at the bottom of Figure 2.1 is a condensed and simplified version of that used by teachers in rating the boys in the "Young School Leavers" sample. It distinguishes those rated capable of passing no subjects either at GCE or at CSE; those rated capable of achieving grades below Grade 1 in at least one subject at CSE (but not of passing any subjects at GCE); those rated capable of passing one or more subjects at GCE "O" Level (but none at GCE "A" Level); and those rated capable of passing at least one subject at GCE "A" Level. The vertical bars represent proportions of all boy school-leavers in the sample who were assigned to the four rating categories. The cross-hatched portion of each bar represents boys who had left, or who intended to leave, aged 15-16; the unhatched portion represents boys who stayed on into the sixth form.

Scanning the diagram from left to right, it can be seen that, whereas 15-16 year old leavers account for almost the whole of the lowest-rated ability group, the proportion of pre-sixth form leavers in the remaining groups falls off steadily as we approach the high-ability end of the scale. Thus only a small - though still not insignificant - proportion of those boys judged capable by their teachers of passing "A" Level examinations leaves school at or below the age of 16.

Figure 2.1 thus shows that, whilst there is a considerable deficit of more able boys amongst the segment of the school-leaving population covered by our sample, there is certainly no sharp "cut-off point", in terms of academic ability, below which all 15-16 year old leavers may be said to fall.

2.5 The relationship between the level of examinations actually sat by sample boys and their examination-passing potential, as rated by their teachers

It has been argued in Sections 2.2 and 2.4 that discrepancies both exist and are to be expected, in a sample of the present type, between the level of examinations actually sat by the boys and their examination passing potential, as rated by their teachers. Since both measures have a claim to special significance in the present study, it is appropriate at this point to look in rather more detail at the way in which they are interrelated and to specify and distinguish the interpretations which should be placed upon them.

Tables 2.7(a)-(c) show, for each school type separately, the relationship between the level of examinations actually sat by leavers and their

Table 2.7 Relation between rated academic ability and examinations sat, within school type

(a) Leavers from grammar and technical schools

LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT	RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING -				
	4 or more subjects at GCE "O" Level	1-3 subjects at GCE "O" Level	1 or more subjects at CSE[+]	Less able	Total
Sat 4 or more subjects at GCE "O" Level	**31%**	26%	6%	1%	63%
Sat 1-3 subjects at GCE "O" Level	1%	**5%**	2%	0	7%
Sat at least 1 subject at CSE only	0	3%	**6%**	0	9%
Sat neither GCE nor CSE examinations	3%	4%	11%	**3%**	20%
TOTAL	34%	38%	24%	4%	100%

(b) Leavers from comprehensive schools

LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT	RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING -				
	4 or more subjects at GCE "O" Level	1-3 subjects at GCE "O" Level	1 or more subjects at CSE[+]	Less able	Total
Sat 4 or more subjects at GCE "O" Level	**4%**	3%	*	0	7%
Sat 1-3 subjects at GCE "O" Level	3%	**5%**	4%	0	11%
Sat at least 1 subject at CSE only	1%	4%	**12%**	*	18%
Sat neither GCE nor CSE examinations	1%	6%	30%	**27%**	64%
TOTAL	9%	18%	47%	27%	100%

[+] "Capable of 'passing' CSE subjects" here means "capable of achieving grades below Grade 1". CSE Grade 1 is taken to be the equivalent of a pass at GCE "O" Level.

Table 2.7 continued Relation between rated academic ability and examinations sat, within school type

(c) Leavers from secondary modern schools

LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT	RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING - 4 or more subjects at GCE "O" Level	1-3 subjects at GCE "O" Level	1 or more subjects at CSE[+]	Less able	Total
Sat 4 or more subjects at GCE "O" Level	**3%**	2%	*	0	5%
Sat 1-3 subjects at GCE "O" Level	1%	**3%**	1%	0	5%
Sat at least 1 subject at CSE only	1%	4%	**8%**	*	14%
Sat neither GCE nor CSE examinations	1%	4%	35%	**37%**	76%
TOTAL	6%	13%	44%	37%	100%

[+] "Capable of 'passing' CSE subjects" here means "capable of achieving grades below Grade 1". CSE Grade 1 is taken to be the equivalent of a pass at GCE "O" Level.

academic potential as rated by their teachers. The two scales have been regrouped so as to make their respective categories correspond as closely as possible with one another. The entries in each table are percentages based upon the total number of leavers included in the analysis who attended each type of school. The entries in heavy type which fall in a band running from the top left to the bottom right corner of each table represent boys whose rated academic potential was broadly congruent with the level of examinations which they had actually sat. Entries falling below and to the left of the diagonal band represent boys who were rated capable of passing more or higher examinations than those they had actually sat - that is, their ability was understated by their examination record. Entries falling above and to the right of the diagonal represent boys rated incapable of passing examinations which they had, in fact, sat - that is, their ability was overstated by their examination record.

Looking first at Table (a), we find that 44% of the grammar and technical school sub-sample fell into the "congruent" category, 22% into the "ability understated by examinations sat" category and 34% into the "ability overstated by examinations sat" category. Of the comprehensive school sub-sample, 47% fell into the "congruent" category, 45% into the "ability understated" category and only 7% into the "ability overstated" category. Of the secondary modern sub-sample, 50% fell into the "congruent" category, 46% into the "ability understated" category and only a minute proportion (4%) into the "ability overstated" category. Overall, less than half the boys were judged to have an ability level roughly commensurate with the level of examinations which they had sat; rather more than four boys in ten were judged capable of passing more or higher examinations than those they had sat; while less than one boy in ten was judged incapable of passing examinations which he had, in fact, sat. There was, however, a heavy concentration of boys in this last category in grammar and technical schools.

In attempting to interpret these results, it is necessary to distinguish between what they tell us about schools, what they tell us about boys in the sample and what they tell us about the measures used.

The observed difference between grammar and technical schools, on the one hand, and comprehensive and secondary modern schools, on the other, as regards the proportion of leavers whose examination record overstated their ability may be regarded as a logical reflection of the fact that, at the former type of school, pupils are normally expected to sit GCE or CSE examinations, whereas at the latter this is not necessarily the case. Where examination candidacy is the norm, the scope for academic "failure" is greater; where only a selected few sit examinations such as CSE or GCE, the number of "failures" will be correspondingly few (whatever the rate of examination success) and the gross amount of "wasted talent" amongst the remaining pupils will tend to be greater. Thus our results certainly reflect institutional differences between school types, as they affect the rate of examination candidacy and the method of selecting examination candidates.

At the same time, however, the results also contain interesting information about the boys themselves and their experience of the educational process. Here again the main focus of interest is upon the discrepant groups whose examination record was judged either to understate or to overstate their ability.

The majority of the former group consists of boys who had sat no examinations at all, but were nevertheless judged capable of achieving some successes at CSE or GCE. Since the non-examination sitters were, in the vast majority of cases, boys who had elected to leave at fifteen, it follows that the greater part of the wastage of academic talent implied by the results was due to early leaving. A further proportion of the wastage is attributable to the failure of boys capable of passing GCE "A" Level examinations to stay on into the sixth form. The remainder can be regarded as "wastage" only in so far as the sitting of GCE "O" Level examinations is to be thought of as a more suitable use of academic ability than the sitting of CSE examinations.

As regards the second group, the situation is a somewhat ironical and paradoxical one. As already pointed out, these boys were concentrated in grammar and technical schools and it can be seen from Table 2.7(a) that most of them were individuals who had been entered for a large number of "O" Level examinations, but were rated capable of passing only a few of these. Given the values implicit in the typical "grammar school" system of education, there can be little doubt that these boys had been made well aware of their failure to measure up to the standards expected of them. Indeed, the fact that they had chosen to leave at the end of their fifth year, instead of staying on into the sixth form like the majority of grammar school pupils, may well have been related to a sense of failure in, and a consequent dislike of, things academic. In a number of senses, then, these boys might be described as "drop-outs", in spite of the fact that their actual capabilities, as judged by their teachers, were often well above those of the vast majority of leavers from comprehensive and secondary modern schools. Hence the paradox that a boy who leaves a secondary modern school with three passes at GCE "O" Level is likely to have been treated as an academically outstanding pupil, whereas a boy who leaves a grammar school with exactly equivalent qualifications is likely to have been treated as an academic failure. We shall have reason to recall this difference in academic background between grammar and technical school leavers and the rest at later stages in this report.

Tables 2.7 also provide evidence in support of our earlier assertion that "Level of examinations sat" (or, indeed, "Level of examinations passed") has serious shortcomings when considered as a measure of the academic ability of the boys in the present sample. To make only the most obvious point, it is clear that the great mass of fourth year leavers, who had sat neither GCE nor CSE examinations, were not all identical in ability. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that it is "visible" results at GCE and CSE, rather than "invisible" ability, as such, which determine a school-leaver's eligibility for most "white collar" and technological occupations. A boy who has the latter but lacks the former may, indeed, be able to put his abilities to good use in employment, but only within those fields to which he is limited by his lack of "paper qualifications". Hence some record of examination candidacy (and ultimately of examination performance) remains an essential part of our profile of each boy, whatever the precise relationship between this and academic ability may be.

In our discussion so far we have taken for granted the claim of teachers' academic ratings to provide a reasonably valid indication of the boys' academic ability and potential, as distinct from their actual examination performance to date. However, this claim needs to be supported with evidence, since it could otherwise be argued that a rating of this kind is no more than a subjective - and possibly biased or inaccurate - opinion passed by one individual upon another.

Put more precisely, our contention is that the scores on the teacher's academic rating scale, while lacking the precision and specificity of scores on appropriate objective tests of ability, nevertheless measure, with a degree of validity and reliability adequate for our purpose, academic ability as manifested from day to day in the classroom. Error due to the idiosyncracies of particular teachers as raters is certainly present, but we would maintain that this is not sufficient to invalidate the measure as a whole from the point of view of the present study. If this interpretation is correct, it is probable that the ratings measure, not so much "pure" intelligence (however that may be defined), as intelligence plus the qualities needed to convert it into academic achievement. For our purposes, however, this lack of "purity" may actually be an advantage, since it seems probable that achievement in employment - and in life in general - is more closely determined by "intelligence plus" than by "pure" intelligence.

The main piece of independent evidence for this interpretation of the teacher's academic rating comes from the "Young School Leavers" study, in which a practically identical measure was used. It was there found that scores on the teacher's rating scale were closely related to scores on objective intelligence tests ($r = .76$), even though the available intelligence scores were derived from a variety of different tests and the testing had in many cases been carried out several years previously. As regards internal evidence from the present study, it will be best to proceed by demonstrating the various significant relationships which exist between teacher's rating scores and other measures used in the analysis. The reader may then form his own judgment as to whether the interpretation placed upon the former is justified or not.

2.6 Some effects arising from differences between secondary schools as institutions

As has already been pointed out, grammar, technical, comprehensive and secondary modern schools differ from one another in numerous ways which are significant both from a purely educational and from a more general point of view. On the one hand, differences in course level and content obviously affect the educational careers of the pupils enrolled and largely determine the level of academic qualifications with which they leave school. On the other hand, differences in the social origins of pupils and in the general atmosphere and ethos of the schools are also likely to be reflected in the attitudes and aspirations of school-leavers. For these reasons we have chosen to use the "official" type of secondary school attended (i.e. grammar, secondary modern etc.) as one dimension of classification in many of the analyses presented in this report.

While analyses of this kind often reveal systematic differences between leavers from different types of schools, the ultimate source of such variation is in most cases hard to identify. This is because differences between schools - or school types - as manifested in the characteristics of leavers may be due either to differences in the type of boy who entered each school in the first place, or to differences in the way in which the schools treated or influenced their pupils, or to both of these causes.

That schools vary in their intake is obvious, not only because of the deliberate selection and segregation which takes place at the "Eleven-plus" stage, but also because school "catchment areas" vary widely in their physical, social and demographic composition. Social and demographic factors have been shown to have a profound effect upon the average level of academic achievement of pupils entering secondary education, and variation from the source will, of course, be apparent within, as well as between, "official" school types. For example, the academic potential of pupils at secondary modern schools in areas which are socially and economically under-privileged is likely to be lower, on average, than that of pupils at secondary modern schools in more fortunate areas.

On the other hand, there are some respects in which the institutional characteristics of schools, as such, must surely have important effects upon the educational and social development of pupils, irrespective of the pupils' antecedents. For example, some secondary modern schools offer no fifth or sixth year courses and all pupils must perforce leave by the end of their fourth year, without sitting any CSE or GCE examinations. Now, it seems beyond reasonable doubt that some pupils at such schools would be capable, given the chance, of performing well at CSE or GCE. It follows, therefore, that the level of academic qualification achieved by such pupils is limited by the institutional nature of the secondary school to which they were assigned. Other institutional influences, while not necessarily operating in quite such a crude and procrustean manner, may nevertheless be more pervasive in their effects upon, for example, the educational and occupational aspirations of school-leavers.

In practice, influences originating both inside and outside the school as an institution tend to operate simultaneously and to be interlinked in complex ways. It is therefore difficult, even in logical and conceptual terms, to assign observed variations in the characteristics of leavers unambiguously to one source rather than another. Nevertheless, it seemed worthwhile in the context of the present enquiry to go a little more deeply into the problem of defining exactly which characteristics of the schools, as institutions, were most closely associated with variations in those characteristics of leavers which are most relevant to the aims of the study.

In anticipation of this requirement, certain items of information about each school from which leavers in the sample were selected were obtained through interviews with head teachers and by means of the School Details Form (see Appendix D). This information fell under three main headings, namely, number of pupils at the school, academic structure and norms of the school and social origins of the pupils. In the analyses which follow it is used to develop an elaborated version of the method of classifying sample school-leavers according to their "official" school type which has already been used in Tables 2.2 - 2.5 above. That is to say, instead of defining school type purely in terms of the official classification, we further sub-divide each "official" type in terms of selected institutional characteristics.

Because of limitations imposed by sample size, the method of sub-division used could not be a comprehensive one and it was necessary to decide which criteria of sub-classification could most usefully be applied within each "official" school type. Thus grammar and technical schools have been sub-divided on the basis of size (i.e. number of pupils in the first five school years) alone, since it was found that they varied more on this dimension than on "academicness" (i.e. proportion of pupils sitting GCE and/or CSE examinations) or on "social class" (i.e. proportion of pupils' fathers who were non-manual workers, as estimated by the head teacher). By the same token, comprehensive schools were found to vary more with respect to "academicness" than with respect to size or "social class" and have been subdivided on this criterion alone. It should be emphasized that these choices were very much forced by numeric considerations; the grammar and technical schools were by no means homogeneous with respect to "academicness" and the comprehensive schools were by no means homogeneous with respect to "social class" and, given a larger sample of schools and pupils, it would have been interesting and possibly revealing to sub-divide on these criteria also.

Conversely, the fact that our sample contained a relatively large number of secondary modern schools and pupils made it statistically worthwhile to sub-divide the "secondary modern" sub-samples on all three dimensions simultaneously. Even here, however, it will be seen that only a crude "high/low" dichotomy on each dimension could be accommodated, giving 8 "secondary modern sub-types". Finally, it should be noted that, in order to make the best use of variance within each "official" school type, the exact cutting-point between "more academic" and "less academic" was deter-

Table 2.8 Classification of the samples of schools and school-leavers into "institutional types"

"OFFICIAL" SCHOOL TYPES	"INSTITUTIONAL" SCHOOL TYPES	NO. OF SCHOOLS IN TYPE	NO. OF LEAVERS SAMPLED (REWTD)
Grammar and Technical (27 schools)	Smaller	10	65
	Larger	17	125
Comprehensive (15 schools)	Less academic	7	186
	More academic	8	199
Secondary modern (54 schools)	Smaller, lower social class, less academic	16	277
	Smaller, lower social class, more academic	6	96
	Smaller, higher social class, less academic	9	124
	Smaller, higher social class, more academic	5	72
	Larger, lower social class, less academic	7	188
	Larger, lower social class, more academic	3	116
	Larger, higher social class, less academic	3	104
	Larger, higher social class, more academic	5	179
Total Sample (96 schools)		96	1728

mined independently for comprehensive and secondary modern schools respectively. The method of classifying schools and the number of schools and school-leavers falling into each of the 12 "types" distinguished are shown in Table 2.8.

In table 2.9 sub-samples of leavers, distinguished according to the "institutional type" of the school which they attended, are compared in terms of their academic potential, as measured by Teachers' Academic Ratings. In addition to distributions by "institutional" school type, the table also shows sub-total distributions for each of the three "official" school types and for leavers from "smaller", "lower social class" and "less

Table 2.9 Leavers' Academic Rating Scores analysed by "institutional type" of school attended

"INSTITUTIONAL TYPE" OF SCHOOL ATTENDED		RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING –						
		At least 4 GCE subjects	1-3 GCE subjects	At least 3 CSE subjects	1-2 CSE subjects	Less able	Total	Base (rewtd)
Small grammar/technical	%	35	41	6	13	5	100	60
Large grammar/technical	%	34	36	20	7	3	100	108
ALL GRAMMAR/TECHNICAL	%	34	38	15	9		100	16
Less academic comprehensive	%	5	14	21	25	31	100	171
More academic comprehensive	%	12	20	23	21	23	100	182
ALL COMPREHENSIVE	%	9	18	23	24	27	100	354
Smaller, lower social class, less academic secondary modern	%	3	5	14	29	48	100	261
Smaller, lower social class, more academic secondary modern	%	12	13	13	12	49	100	92
Smaller, higher social class, less academic secondary modern	%	4	14	24	19	39	100	110
Smaller, higher social class, more academic secondary modern	%	4	19	22	31	24	100	62
Larger, lower social class, less academic secondary modern	%	8	11	27	21	34	100	168
Larger, lower social class, more academic secondary modern	%	7	18	21	18	36	100	100
Larger, higher social class, less academic secondary modern	%	4	17	24	19	35	100	103
Larger, higher social class, more academic secondary modern	%	10	16	25	28	22	100	159
All smaller secondary moderns	%	5	10	17	24	44	100	525
All lower social class secondary moderns	%	6	10	19	23	42	100	621
All less academic secondary moderns	%	5	10	21	23	41	100	642
ALL SECONDARY MODERN	%	6	13	21	23	37	100	1055
ALL SCHOOL TYPES	%	10	17	21	22	31	100	1577

academic" secondary modern schools. These last three categories overlap, of course, but inclusion of the distributions, along with that for all leavers from secondary modern schools, enables us to see to what extent the three school factors of size, social class and "academicness" served to predict pupils' rated academic potential, within the sub-sample of leavers from secondary modern schools.

The distributions for "official" school types in Table 2.9 correspond, of course, to those already given in Table 2.4. As might be expected from the fact that pupils at grammar/technical schools, on the one hand, and at secondary moderns, on the other, had been deliberately selected on the basis of their performance at the "11-plus" examination, the major part of the variation in distributions shown in Table 2.9 is attributable to differences in the "official" type of the school attended. However, this is clearly by no means the whole story. Looking first within the "official" grammar/technical type, we find a small tendency for leavers from smaller schools to receive more extreme rating scores than leavers from larger schools. This difference could possibly be due to random sampling variation, given the numbers involved, but the same cannot be said of the tendency for "more academic" comprehensive schools to produce leavers whose mean academic rating score was higher than that for leavers from "less academic" comprehensives. The "within official type" variation is even more marked within the sub-sample of leavers from secondary modern schools. Looking first at the summary rows at the bottom of the table, it can be seen that smaller schools, lower social class schools and less "academic" schools all produced leavers whose mean academic rating score was below the average for leavers from secondary moderns. (This implies, of course, that the mean academic rating scores of leavers from larger, higher social class and more "academic" secondary modern schools were correspondingly above average).

The most interesting finding, however, arises from the analysis of the joint effects of school size, social class and "academicness" which it was possible to carry out within the sub-sample of leavers from secondary moderns. The most striking illustration of these effects is the contrast in academic rating score distributions as between extreme secondary modern sub-types - that is, between smaller, lower social class, less academic schools, on the one hand, and larger, higher social class, more academic schools on the other. Of leavers from the former, 48% were rated by their teachers as incapable of achieving a grade in even one subject at CSE, while only 8% were judged capable of passing one or more subjects at GCE "O" Level. Of leavers from the latter, only 22% were assigned to the lowest ability category, while 26% were judged capable of passing one or more subjects at "O" Level. More detailed examination of the distributions for different secondary modern sub-types confirms that the effects of school size, school social class and school "academicness" upon the mean academic rating scores assigned to leavers are, to a large extent, independent and cumulative.

In short, then, the classification by "institutional type" of school attended gives a statistical prediction of leavers' academic rating scores which is significantly more powerful than that given by the simpler "official" school typology. There are, however, a number of different - though not mutually exclusive - ways in which the results shown in Table 2.9 might be interpreted.

In the first place, it could be argued that the academic level of a school's output (i.e. of leavers) directly reflects the academic level of its input. The areas from which different schools draw their pupils certainly differ in terms of social class and it has often been shown that social class influences both parents' involvement and interest in their children's schooling and the child's own level of academic achievement. On this argument, then, "social class of school" in our typology stands for "social class and attitudes to education of pupils' parents" and it is the latter which is directly associated with the rated academic level of the leavers in our sample.

An interpretation on these lines may well be at least partially correct, so far as the relationship between school social class and rated ability of leaver is concerned. However, it does not in any straightforward sense account for the independent relationships between rated ability and school size and between rated ability and school academic characteristics. A second interpretation of the results might therefore be that the institutional characteristics of the school have a direct effect upon pupils' academic development and potential. This is equivalent to suggesting that, given identical inputs of 11-year-olds, a smaller, lower social class, less academic secondary modern school, for example, will turn out leavers aged 15-16 who are academically duller than a larger, higher social class, more academic secondary modern. Provided that it is not pushed too far, this view has a certain plausibility. If it is true that schools of the first kind provide an intellectually stultifying and schools of the second kind an intellectually stimulating environment, it could well be that boys emerge from the one relatively duller, but from the other relatively brighter, than they went in - judged, that is, on their classroom behaviour. Nor is it altogether difficult to believe that a larger school, offering many different academic options and facilities and where a relatively high proportion of pupils come from educationally aspiring middle-class homes, does, in fact, provide a more stimulating environment than a smaller school, offering little or nothing in the way of "O" Level or CSE courses, where the pupils are drawn almost exclusively from unskilled or semi-skilled working class homes.

The two interpretations outlined above both assume that the Teacher's Academic Rating score can be treated as though it were an objective measure which is operationally independent of the type of school attended by the boy concerned. In fact, however, the institutional environment provided by the school almost certainly had some effect upon the teachers who did the rating, as well as upon the boys who were rated. More specifically, we may suspect that those teachers who spent their working lives in schools where low academic achievement was the norm and few or no pupils sat GCE or CSE examinations, may have tended unconsciously to assume that only a small proportion of pupils would ever be capable of passing such examinations and hence to underestimate the potential of the majority. That the bias is likely to be towards undue pessimism in these cases, rather than towards undue optimism on the part of teachers in relatively high-achieving schools, is suggested by the dramatic overall rise, confounding all previous expectations, which has of recent years occurred in the proportion of pupils achieving GCE or CSE qualifications.

Assuming that such a bias did exist, it would, of course, explain why leavers from "pessimistic" schools received lower academic ratings, on average, than did leavers from "optimistic" schools. Furthermore, it is equally as plausible to assume that teachers in, for example, smaller, lower social class, less academic secondary modern schools were more pessimistic than average, as it is to assume that boys from such schools were duller than average.

On the basis of the available evidence it is not really possible to establish to what extent any of the suggested interpretations of the results in Table 2.9 is applicable. The opinion of the present writers is, however, that all three apply to some extent. That is to say: (a) that some schools, because of the nature of their "catchment areas", had a higher proportion of innately able and academically well-motivated pupils than others; (b) that certain types of school had had an academically stultifying and others an academically stimulating effect upon leavers in our sample; (c) that there were some variations in the standards used by teachers in making academic ratings of pupils, such that teachers from some types of school tended to be more "optimistic" and teachers from other types of school to be more "pessimistic" than average; and, finally (d) that there may have been an interrelationship between effects (b) and (c), in that teacher optimism or pessimism probably communicated itself to the pupils and was thus an important factor in determining the "academic climate" of the school as an institution.

2.7 Some differences between area sub-samples with respect to academic characteristics

It was remarked in the previous section that there were almost certainly gross differences between the local "catchment areas" of the 96 schools included in our sample. Available statistics show that there are also marked and persistent differences between whole regions in terms, for example, of the proportion of secondary school pupils sitting GCE and/or CSE examinations (see below). The ten areas within which the present sample was selected each contained between 10 and 30 maintained secondary schools (though not all of these were included in the study - see Appendix A) and were selected with a view to covering the range of different types of area in England and Wales. We therefore expected to find significant differences between them in educational terms, both as regards the "official" system of secondary schooling which was in operation (i.e. selective versus comprehensive) and as regards the distribution of the characteristics upon which our "institutional" typology of schools is based. Table 2.10 shows that both these expectations were amply borne out.

Let us first consider the three summary rows of entries representing "official" school types. It will be noticed that six of the ten areas (nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10) contained grammar/technical and secondary modern schools, but no comprehensives - that is, they adhered completely to selective secondary education the time when Stage I of the survey was carried out. Area 1, on the other hand, had no grammar or technical schools, though a small proportion of boys still attended secondary moderns. In the remaining three areas (nos. 3, 4 and 8) secondary schools of all three types co-existed at the time of Stage I. In several of the areas the system of secondary education was actually in process of reorganization at the time of the survey and several of the comprehensive schools included in the sample had only very recently been established. It should also be noted that only four areas contributed to our sample of comprehensive school

Table 2.10 "Institutional type" of school attended, analysed by area

INSTITUTIONAL TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED	AREA NUMBER										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Small grammar/technical	0	6	0	2	10	11	0	0	11	0	4
Large grammar/technical	0	8	4	21	7	5	5	14	0	9	7
ALL GRAMMAR/TECHNICAL	0	14	4	23	17	15	5	14	11	9	11
Less academic comprehensive	50	0	35	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	11
More academic comprehensive	37	0	40	6	0	0	0	20	0	0	11
ALL COMPREHENSIVE	87	0	74	6	0	0	0	30	0	0	22
Smaller, lower social class, less academic secondary modern	0	0	4	11	76	11	0	16	38	16	16
Smaller, lower social class, more academic secondary modern	5	20	0	0	0	0	3	5	9	13	6
Smaller, higher social class, less academic secondary modern	0	0	9	32	7	14	0	0	0	11	7
Smaller, higher social class, more academic secondary modern	8	11	9	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	4
Larger, lower social class, less academic secondary modern	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	12	42	37	11
Larger, lower social class, more academic secondary modern	0	16	0	0	0	0	56	0	0	0	7
Larger, higher social class, less academic secondary modern	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	23	0	14	6
Larger, higher social class, more academic secondary modern	0	38	0	28	0	22	22	0	0	0	10
All smaller secondary moderns	13	31	22	43	83	25	17	21	48	40	33
All lower social class secondary moderns	5	37	4	11	75	30	59	32	89	67	39
All less academic secondary moderns	0	0	13	43	83	63	0	50	76	78	40
ALL SECONDARY MODERN	13	86	22	72	83	85	95	56	89	91	67
ALL LEAVERS	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (Number of pupils reweighted)	188	158	204	157	148	175	160	202	160	176	1728
Number of schools sampled	10	10	9	10	10	9	7	10	11	10	96

leavers, in fact, 12 of the 15 comprehensive schools included were situated in two of the 10 areas. For these two reasons we should be very cautious in drawing any conclusions about comprehensive schooling in general from results based upon the group of leavers from such schools included in our sample.

In considering the more detailed results presented in Table 2.10, it must be remembered that the distributions given refer to pre-sixth form leavers, rather than to leavers in general. The area differences which are apparent thus represent the net product of a rather complex set of factors, including not only differences in the systems of secondary education which operated in the areas concerned, but also (under selective systems) differential rates of entry into grammar/technical schools and (in all cases) differential rates of pre-sixth form leaving as between the various types of secondary school, both within and between areas. Hence the figures, while casting some interesting light upon the actual composition of our sample, cannot be interpreted in any straightforward way as reflecting the overall educational characteristics of the ten areas. We shall return to this latter issue shortly.

Working down the table with these points in mind, it will be noted that our Area 4 sub-sample contains a rather high proportion of leavers from grammar and technical schools, whereas this proportion is very low in Area 3 and Area 7, as well as in Area 1. Both the Area 1 and the Area 3 sub-samples in fact consist mainly of leavers from comprehensive schools. Perhaps the most striking feature of the whole table is the extent to which the Area 5 sub-sample is dominated by leavers from smaller, lower social class, less academic secondary modern schools. As later analyses by area will show, this is only one of several respects in which Area 5 appears as a peculiar - and one might say peculiarly disadvantaged - area, so far as the leavers in our sample are concerned. It will, however, be noticed that the Area 9 sub-sample also contains a high proportion of leavers from smaller, lower social class, less academic secondary moderns. At the opposite extreme, all secondary modern schools contributing to the sub-samples in Areas 1, 2 and 7 were "more academic" (i.e. they tended to enter a higher proportion of pupils for GCE and/or CSE examinations than the overall average for secondary modern schools).

It is clear, therefore, that there were very marked differences between our area sub-samples as regards both the "official" and the "institutional" types of secondary school attended. Now, the school's rate of examination candidacy formed part of the definition of "institutional" types and Table 2.9 showed that leavers' rated level of academic potential also varied significantly with the "institutional" type of the school attended. We may therefore expect to find overall differences between area sub-samples with respect to both these measures of academic level. The extent of these differences is shown in Tables 2.11 and 2.12.

From Table 2.11 it can be seen that there was marked area variation, both in the proportion of boys sitting any examinations at GCE or CSE (i.e. in the proportion of fifth year, as opposed to fourth year, leavers) and in the proportions of boys sitting wholly or mainly GCE "O" Level subjects, as opposed to wholly or mainly subjects at CSE. In Area 5, for example, only 15% of the boys in our sample had sat any examinations at all, but, of these, 8% had sat wholly or mainly GCE subjects, as against 7% who had sat wholly or mainly CSE subjects. In Areas 1 and 4, on the other hand,

Table 2.11 Distribution of the school-leavers' sample by level of examinations sat within area

AREA NUMBER		LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT Wholly or mainly GCE "O" Level subjects+	Wholly or mainly CSE subjects°	No subjects at GCE or CSE	Total	Base (rewtd)
1	%	4	41	55	100	188
2	%	17	23	60	100	158
3	%	7	25	68	100	204
4	%	12	34	54	100	158
5	%	8	7	85	100	148
6	%	7	31	62	100	173
7	%	8	28	64	100	160
8	%	10	20	70	100	202
9	%	11	9	80	100	160
10	%	6	27	67	100	176
TOTAL	%	9	25	66	100	1727

+ Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat at least 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

° Sat at least 1 subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

45-46% had sat some examinations and, of these, the great majority had sat wholly or mainly CSE subjects. In general, the largest differences between area sub-samples seem to be due to variations in the proportion of boys who had elected to stay on in school to sit CSE examinations, instead of leaving by the end of their fourth year.

Table 2.12 shows that inter-area variation within the sample in the distribution of academic potential (as rated by teachers) is as marked as, and shows a generally similar pattern to, the variation in level of examinations actually sat. Taking the two sets of results together, we may roughly divide the ten area sub-samples into two groups and one aberrant case, on the basis of their academic characteristics. In the first group are Areas 4, 1 and 2, where the average level of academic achievement and potential is clearly above the average for the sample as a whole. The second group includes all the remaining areas, except for Area 5. This last occupies a much lower on both academic indices than other area and thus seems to be a special case.

As was pointed out earlier, the results shown in Tables 2.11 and 2.12 represent the characteristics of 15-16 year old leavers, rather than those

Table 2.12 Distribution of the school-leavers' sample by rated academic potential within area

		RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING -				
AREA NUMBER		At least 1 subject at GCE "O" Level	At least 1 subject at CSE (below Grade 1)	Less able	Total	Base (rewtd)
1	%	37	23	40	100	171
2	%	31	17	51	100	150
3	%	23	15	62	100	185
4	%	39	23	37	100	137
5	%	14	6	79	100	141
6	%	20	36	44	100	143
7	%	29	20	51	100	137
8	%	20	33	48	100	189
9	%	25	24	51	100	148
10	%	26	18	56	100	171
TOTAL	%	26	22	52	100	1573

of the secondary school population as a whole, within the ten areas. The observed inter-area differences might therefore arise because of variation in the size and composition of the early-leaving segment of area school populations, even though the populations themselves were identical. However, these results do at least raise the possibility that the academic characteristics of the whole secondary school population do vary significantly from area to area. This is the more likely in view of the regional differences in, for example, proportions of pupils sitting GCE and CSE examinations, which may regularly be found in DES statistics. (In this connection it is interesting to note that our three "top" areas academically are situated respectively in the South West, Greater London and South East regions - which turn out on a number of indices to be the three "top" regions in secondary educational terms - c.f. Statistics of Education 1967-68).

2.8 Summary

1. Although the main focus of the present study is upon the transition to employment, very few of the boys in the sample had started work by the time when the Stage I interviews took place. The most useful way of classifying them for general descriptive purposes at this point in their careers therefore seems to be in terms of educational characteristics.

2. Two thirds of the boys in the sample (reweighted so as to represent the population of leavers sampled) attended secondary modern schools, just over one fifth attended comprehensive schools and just over one tenth attended grammar or technical schools. At the time of the study a majority of all grammar and technical school pupils and about a fifth of all comprehensive school pupils (national figures) stayed on into the sixth form and thus fell outside the population sampled. Consequently, pupils from these types of school are under-represented in the sample and the sub-sample of grammar/technical school pupils, in particular, is likely to be atypical of the general run of pupils at such schools. However, the sample represents virtually the full range of leavers from secondary modern schools, since very few of these stay on beyond their fifth year.

3. Half of the entire (reweighted) sample consisted of boys leaving secondary modern schools without having sat any GCE or CSE examinations and, in all, non-examination-sitters accounted for two thirds of the total. For practical purposes, "non-examination-sitters" may be regarded as virtually synonymous with "fourth year/fifteen-year-old leavers". A quarter of the sample had sat public examinations consisting wholly or mainly of subjects at CSE; numerically, the majority of these were at secondary modern schools, but proportionately more comprehensive than secondary modern pupils fell into this category. Only 9% of the sample had sat examinations consisting wholly or mainly of GCE "O" Levels and, of these, 6% were pupils at grammar or technical schools.

4. For most of the boys in the sample we were able to obtain a Teacher's Rating of academic potential - that is, of the number and level of examinations which the boy was capable of passing. When this was compared with the record of GCE and CSE examinations actually sat by the boys (examination results were not available at Stage I) it could be seen that there was a general tendency for academic achievement (i.e. in terms of examination performance) to fall short of rated academic potential.

5. The distribution of the sample by type of school attended and level of examinations sat was compared with corresponding national figures extracted from "Statistics of Education 1967-68" and were shown to reflect the national picture rather accurately. The distribution of the sample by rated academic potential was compared with a national distribution for pre-sixth-form boy leavers (obtained as part of the "Young School Leavers" enquiry) and here again the correspondence was close. Thus, although our sample was drawn in ten areas only, the distribution of basic academic characteristics within it is closely similar to that for England and Wales as a whole.

6. As might be expected, there was a smaller proportion of boys of high academic potential within our sample (which excluded sixth formers) than within the school population as a whole. However, there was certainly no sharp cut-off point, in terms of ability, below which all boys in the sample could be said to fall.

7. Cross-analysis of our two measures of academic level, namely, examinations sat and Teacher's Academic Rating, produced a number of interesting findings. It was found that the sample included a substantial group of "under-achievers" (i.e. boys whose rated potential exceeded

their maximum possible level of examination achievement) and a much smaller minority of boys who were rated incapable of passing examinations for which they had actually been entered. The former were found particularly amongst 15-year-old leavers from secondary modern and comprehensive schools, while the latter tended to be grammar or technical school pupils. Two conclusions follow from this. Firstly, there seems to have been a very considerable wastage of academic talent, due mainly to premature school-leaving, amongst boys in the sample. Secondly, over a quarter of the grammar/technical school sub-sample were in the paradoxical position of being regarded as "failures" or "drop-outs" by their teachers (a fact of which they were probably well aware), even though their actual academic achievement was in most cases higher than that of "successful" pupils at secondary modern schools.

8. A further corollary of the results just described is that the Teacher's Academic Rating has the power of discriminating between different levels of ability even within that sub-sample of school-leavers (some two thirds of the total reweighted sample) who were entered for no GCE or CSE examinations. Results to be presented later in the Report will show to what extent this discrimination is valid and significant. Independent evidence suggests that the Academic Rating variable is rather closely related to measured intelligence.

9. Substantial differences often appear when the characteristics of boys who attended different "official" types of secondary school (i.e. grammar/technical, comprehensive, secondary modern) are compared. However, it seems possible that the underlying factors which produce these differences may vary within, as well as between, "official" school types. For example, the institutional environment provided by secondary modern school A may differ in important and relevant ways from that provided by secondary modern school B. In order to test this general hypothesis, the "official" typology of secondary schools was elaborated into a twelve-fold "institutional" typology, which took account of three additional aspects of the sampled schools as institutions, namely, number of pupils ("size"), proportion of pupils sitting GCE or CSE examinations ("academicness") and the estimated proportion of pupils' fathers who were non-manual workers ("social class").

10. When the academic potential of leavers in the sample (as rated by their teachers) was analysed according to the "institutional type" of the secondary school attended, it was found that there were marked variations in the average ability-level of leavers from different school-types. Of particular interest was the range of variation within the sub-sample of leavers from secondary modern schools: larger, higher social class and more academic schools all tended to produce leavers who were rated more able than average. Furthermore, these effects were to a considerable extent independent and additive, giving an extreme contrast between schools which combined the characteristics of being large, having a relatively high proportion of pupils from middle-class homes and entering a relatively high proportion of pupils for external examinations, on the one hand, and smaller, lower social class schools where all or most pupils left by the end of their fourth year, on the other. It was pointed out that these contrasts might be due to any or all of several different underlying factors, including differences between school "catchment areas", as well as differences between schools

as institutions. In so far as the results reflected genuine institutional effects, these might operate by affecting either the actual academic motivation and performance of pupils, or the standards used by teachers in rating that performance (or both).

11. Leavers from each of the ten areas covered by the study were compared in terms of the "official" and "institutional" types of school attended, the level of examinations sat and Teacher's Academic Rating scores. Large inter-area differences were found on all criteria. Differences in area distributions by type of school attended were largely due to the fact that in some areas a re-organization of secondary education along comprehensive lines had taken place or was in progress, whilst other areas still operated a system based upon selection at 11-plus. Even amongst these latter areas, however, there were large variations in, for example, the "institutional" type of secondary modern school attended by most leavers. The major source of inter-area differences in the level of examinations sat by leavers seemed to be that in some areas pupils were much more likely to stay on into their fifth year in order to sit CSE examinations, whilst in other areas CSE was less popular and correspondingly more pupils left by the end of their fourth year. These results can be directly applied only to the sub-population of 15-16 year old boy leavers within each area, rather than to the area secondary school population as a whole. However, it may be significant that the three sample areas which were outstandingly high on our indices of average academic level were situated in what national educational statistics show to be the three most educationally advanced regions (South West, Greater London and South East).

CHAPTER III

THE BOYS AND THEIR HOME BACKGROUNDS

3.1 Introduction

The analyses to be presented in this chapter of the report are based mainly upon information obtained by means of interviews with parents of the boys included in the main sample. The aim was to interview one parent in each case; wherever possible, the boy's father (or father-substitute) was approached, but where the father was not available we interviewed the mother, or, in a few cases, some other person who exercised a parental role.

A parental interview was obtained for about 95% of the boys in the sample and only these cases are included in the following analyses. Of the informants interviewed, 84% were natural fathers, 3% were step- or adoptive fathers, 11% were mothers and the remainder were grandparents, or were related to the boy in some other way.

In presenting the following selection of results bearing on home background, we have three main aims:

(a) To introduce and interpret certain home background measures which it was thought might serve to predict, or otherwise explain, those aspects of the boys' attitudes and behaviour in which we are mainly interested.

(b) To demonstrate the existence of important underlying relationships, between different aspects of the home background and between these and the basic academic characteristics of the sample boys already documented in Chapter II. The more central relationships between home background variables and the boys' attitudes and behaviour in the field of employment are dealt with at length in Chapters V - VII below.

(c) To make comparisons, wherever the use of identical or similar measures allows this, between results derived from the present sample and results from the cross-sectional sample of all boy school-leavers used in the "Young School Leavers" enquiry. Such comparisons serve both to point up differences between sixth form leavers and the younger leavers covered by our sample and to show to what extent our sample, drawn as it was in ten areas only, is representative of younger boy school-leavers nationally, so far as home background variables are concerned.

The account which follows deals with a number of different aspects of the boys' home and family backgrounds and may, up to a point, be read as a general description of their home environments. However, all description necessarily involves selection and the present case the selection had throughout been deliberately biassed in favour of those factors which were thought likely to influence the boys' progress towards employment. Selectivity on these lines has been rigorously applied at both the design and the analysis stages, so it is virtually certain that aspects of home environment which might be considered salient and important from other points of view have been omitted from consideration.

Since we have chosen to use type of school attended and level of examinations sat as standard categories in classifying the sample of school-leavers for the purposes of the Stage I analysis, the results presented in Chapter III have some bearing on the relationship between home background and academic achievement. To the extent that there is a causal chain which links home background to employment prospects via school performance, the study of this relationship does, indeed, fall within our brief. However, it must be remembered that the aims and design of the study and the nature of the sample preclude us from any thorough-going and technically adequate study of the home-school relationship in general and that the analyses in Chapter III were not designed with this end in view.

Our first section deals with some demographic characteristics of the families and households to which the boys belonged, including socio-economic status and family size. We next consider some economic indices, such as income, before turning to less tangible factors, such as family educational level and parental attitudes. Finally, we attempt to measure the parent's degree of involvement in his son's career progress and to show to what extent this is a function of family characteristics already dealt with.

3.2 Socio-economic and occupational features of the home environment

It is well known that values, attitudes and behaviour in many fields differ according to the socio-economic status and origins of the individuals concerned. Various methods of classifying people in socio-economic terms have been proposed, but the best-documented procedures are probably those developed by the former General Registry Office for classifying National Census and other data. Two fairly compact methods of classification have been used by the GRO, namely, that by Social Class and that by Socio-economic Group (SEG). Both of these have been extensively used for purposes of social research and analysis and both take as their criterion of classification the occupation, either of the individual concerned, or of the head of the household of which he or she is a member.

While the shorter Social Class scale has useful properties for some purposes, it relates less directly to the actual occupations of the persons classified than does the more detailed SEG classification. Furthermore, although the two systems are, strictly speaking, incompatible, it is possible, for some purposes, to produce a rough approximation to the main Social Class categories by combining certain of the Socio-economic Groups. The SEG classification, on the other hand, can in no sense be reconstructed from the Social Class scale. For these two reasons it was decided to use the SEG method in categorizing the home backgrounds of boys in our sample. The full SEG classification comprises some 17 categories and tended to produce excessive sub-division of the sample in certain respects. It has therefore been condensed to ten categories for the purposes of the analyses shown in Table 3.1.

In Table 3.1 the boys in our sample of school-leavers are sub-divided according to the occupations of their fathers, as classified into Socio-economic Groups. Also shown are comparable data from the "Young School Leavers" enquiry, which covered boys leaving (or intending to leave) secondary school aged 17 and over, as well as those leaving aged 15-16. It is thus possible to make a number of different checks and comparisons.

Since the method of sampling used in the "Young School Leavers" survey was such as to produce a national cross-section of school children, we have the opportunity of checking to what extent the SEG distribution of boys in our own sample (drawn from ten areas only - see Chapter I above) corresponds to the national distribution for boys leaving school aged 15-16*. This check may be made by comparing the percentages in column (2) of the table with those in column (3). It can be seen that the groups which include employers, managers, professionals and intermediate non-manual workers are slightly under-represented in the Youth Employment sample and the group containing skilled manual workers correspondingly over-represented, but that, overall, the two distributions are similar. This suggests that, in socio-economic as well as educational terms (see also Chapter II above), our sample is not unrepresentative of the national picture.

The second interesting comparison which can be made with the aid of data shown in Table 3.1 is between column (1) and column (2). This comparison (based entirely on "Young School Leavers" data) shows that there is a strong tendency for boys leaving aged 15-16 to be drawn from the families of manual workers, while leavers aged 17 and over tend to be drawn from the families of "white collar" workers. Thus some 62% of the earlier leavers, compared with 38% of the later leavers, had fathers whose occupations were classified as manual or agricultural.

Turning now to the distributions shown in columns (4) - (9), it can be seen that there is some further variation within the group of boys leaving school aged 15-16, according to the type of school attended and the level of examinations sat. On the basis of previous educational research we might expect to find some straightforward trends here, with grammar school pupils and GCE candidates being the most likely and secondary modern pupils and 15 year old leavers the least likely to come from a "white collar" background. In fact, however, the picture is rather more complex. Whereas the second part of the prediction is confirmed, leavers from grammar/technical schools were scarcely more likely than leavers from comprehensive schools to come from "white collar" homes, while GCE candidates were actually less likely to come from such backgrounds than CSE candidates (27% as compared with 31%). The explanation of these findings probably lies in the tendency, noted by previous researchers, for working class pupils at grammar and technical schools to leave school earlier than their middle class school-mates. As a consequence of this, working class pupils at such schools would tend to

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* Note, however, that, in the Young School Leavers study, "15-16 year old leavers" were children aged 13-16 who either had left or who intended, in some cases as much as 2-3 years before the event, to leave school at 15 or 16. Since such long-term intentions are not always carried through in practice, this definition will not correspond exactly with that used in the present study and minor discrepancies may therefore be expected. However, it is unlikely that discrepancies from this source are such as to invalidate general comparisons.

Table 3.1 Distribution of boys by Socio-economic Group of father, analysed by school type and level of examinations sat, with comparable data from the "Young School Leavers" enquiry

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION	"YOUNG SCHOOL LEAVERS" SAMPLE (BOYS)		YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SAMPLE OF 15-16 YEAR OLD BOY LEAVERS						
				SCHOOL TYPE			EXAMINATIONS SAT		
	Boy leavers aged 17-18	Boy leavers aged 15-16	TOTAL	Grammar/ Technical	Compre-hensive	Secondary modern	GCE°	CSE⁺	Neither^x
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Employers and managers (incl. farmers)	22	11	9	12	9	8	13	14	7
Professional and intermediate non-manual workers	16	5	3	4	3	3	7	6	1
Junior non-manual workers	11	8	6	7	10	5	7	10	5
Formen and supervisors (manual)	5	7	6	6	5	7	7	7	6
Skilled manual workers	25	36	40	37	40	41	36	38	42
Semi-skilled manual workers	10	18	19	21	17	19	19	13	21
Unskilled (incl. agricultural) manual workers	3	8	7	4	7	7	3	4	8
Non-professional own-account and personal service workers	5	5	4	4	4	5	3	3	5
Armed Forces	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
Indefinite	1	0	1	2	0	2	2	1	1
No answer	1	1	3	1	3	4	2	2	4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	610	1599	1647	182	363	1102	145	420	1081

° Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more "O" Level subjects, including English and Mathematics, as well as subjects at CSE.

⁺ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, which included English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

^x Sat no subjects either at GCE "O" Level or at CSE. (This category consists almost entirely of 15 year old leavers).

Table 3.2 Distribution of boys according to family occupational status, analysed by (a) type of school attended and (b) level of examinations sat

BOY'S FATHER AND EMPLOYED BROTHERS (IF ANY) INCLUDED –	(a) TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED			(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT			
	Grammar/ Technical	Com- prehensive	Secondary modern	Wholly or mainly GCE[o]	Wholly or mainly CSE[+]	Neither GCE nor CSE[x]	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Non-manual worker(s) only	27	23	17	30	33	13	20
Non-manual and skilled manual worker(s)	4	5	5	7	5	5	5
Non-manual and non-skilled manual worker(s)	3	3	3	6	3	3	3
Non-manual and skilled and non-skilled manual worker(s)	1	4	2	1	2	3	2
Skilled manual worker(s) only	32	31	32	28	35	31	32
Skilled manual and non-skilled manual worker(s)	7	9	14	9	4	16	12
Non-skilled manual worker(s) only	21	23	22	14	17	25	22
At least 1 non-manual worker	36	34	28	45	42	23	30
At least 1 skilled manual worker	45	48	54	45	45	55	51
At least 1 non-skilled manual worker	33	39	41	30	25	46	42
Occupation(s) not classifiable, or all employed males in Armed Forces	4	3	4	4	3	5	4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	182	363	1102	145	420	1081	1647

[o] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more "O" Level subjects, including English and Mathematics, as well as subjects at CSE.

[+] Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, which included English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

[x] Sat no subjects either at GCE "O" Level or at CSE. (This category consists almost entirely of 15 year old leavers).

be proportionately over-represented in the present sample, including as it does only the earlier leavers.

Detailed scrutiny of the results in Table 3.1 suggests that the relationship between father's occupation and son's academic characteristics reflects the social class hierarchy which is present within the SEG classification, but is, of course, measured more directly by the Social Class scale. Now, while the occupation of the Head of Household is probably the best single indicator of social class affiliation, its validity for that purpose is certainly far from perfect. Bearing in mind that our aim was to develop a measure of maximum usefulness in predicting boys' attitudes and behaviour in the field of employment, it seemed worth trying to take account of the occupations of other employed family members (if any). A combined measure was therefore developed by first condensing the SEG categories to give a simplified three-point "social class scale", with non-manual and supervisory workers in the first category, skilled manual workers in the second and non-skilled workers (including personal service and non-professional own-account workers) in the third. Each family was then characterized according to the occupational status of employed father and sons, so as to produce a seven-fold typology. Families for which adequate occupational data were not available, or where the only employed male was in the Armed Forces, were placed in an eighth, residual, category.

In Table 3.2 the boys' families are classified both in terms of the typology and in terms of a simpler breakdown derived from it, which simply shows the proportions of families including at least one non-manual worker, at least one skilled worker and at least one non-skilled worker respectively. From the Total column it can be seen that the families of the majority of the boys in the sample as a whole included workers in only one of the three occupational status categories, but that rather more than one fifth of the families were occupationally "mixed".

The trend of percentages in the body of the tables shows that there are some differences between boys who attended different types of secondary school and between boys at different academic levels as regards the occupational status of their families. School type, level of examinations sat and age of school-leaving are, of course, all related to one another and a detailed comparison of Tables 3.2(a) and (b) suggests that family occupational status is most closely related to the last of these. In other words, it seems that boys who elect to leave at 15 differ from those who stay on to 16, in that they come from families which are markedly less likely to include non-manual workers and markedly more likely to include skilled and - especially - non-skilled manual workers. The differences between school types seem to be mainly a reflection of the fact that there is a higher proportion of 15 year old leavers in the secondary modern than in the comprehensive or grammar/technical sub-samples. This confirms the conclusion already drawn from the results shown in Table 3.1.

Whereas we are interested in family occupational status mainly as a possible predictor or causal factor, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the distribution of family occupational types is itself influenced by prior social, economic and geographical factors. This is clearly brought out in Table 3.3, which compares distributions of family occupational status in the ten areas covered by the study. It is clear from this that there are very substantial area differences. For example, the proportion of boys with wholly non-manual family backgrounds varies from

Table 3.3 Distribution of boys according to family occupational status, analysed by sample area

	AREA NUMBER										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	TOTAL
BOY'S FATHER AND EMPLOYED BROTHERS (IF ANY) INCLUDED -	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Non-manual worker(s) only	35	29	14	28	5	26	29	10	16	9	20
Non-manual and skilled manual worker(s)	5	4	6	2	8	4	8	3	6	6	5
Non-manual and non-skilled worker(s)	4	4	4	1	3	5	3	2	1	2	3
Non-manual and skilled and non-skilled manual worker(s)	2	5	4	1	4	0	0	2	2	4	2
Skilled manual worker(s) only	27	27	31	34	34	28	35	45	29	31	32
Skilled manual and non-skilled manual worker(s)	4	14	12	6	14	15	5	17	11	20	12
Non-skilled manual worker(s) only	21	17	26	21	28	19	18	19	30	25	22
Family included at least 1 non-manual worker	46	41	29	32	20	35	39	17	25	21	30
Family included at least 1 skilled manual worker	38	48	53	42	60	46	48	67	47	60	51
Family included at least 1 non-skilled worker	31	38	41	29	50	38	25	40	43	51	39
Occupation(s) inadequately described, or all employed males in Armed forces	3	2	3	6	3	4	2	2	5	3	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base (reweighted)	167	153	199	153	143	167	146	195	153	171	1647

5% (Area 5) and 9% (Area 10) to 35% (Area 1); substantial variations also appear in the "Skilled only" and "Non-skilled only" rows, as well as in the three summary rows at the bottom of the table. The results as a whole provide a striking illustration of the fact that areas, as well as families or individuals, differ from one another in terms of average social class or occupational status.

This finding should be borne in mind when attempting to interpret the differences between area sub-samples of school-leavers which are documented elsewhere in this report. It is tempting to assume that the underlying differences between areas as employment environments must be economic in nature, but the results just presented show that differences in the prevailing type of home background are equally marked and may be equally important in explaining, for example, area differences in the occupational aspirations of school-leavers.

Classification by Socio-economic Group is, of course, only one of several possible ways of making use of occupational data. Other types of classification of relevance to the present enquiry may be based upon, for example, details of the industry in which an individual is employed or the nature of the work activities which he performs. In either case there is, once again, a possibility that the employment experience of members of a boy's family may influence or be related to his own decisions or behaviour. However, classification by nature of the work performed, in particular, raises some difficult technical problems and we have postponed discussion of these until Chapter VI, at which point the problems of classifying the boys' own actual or intended occupations are also dealt with.

3.3 Family size

We turn next to another fundamental aspect of the home environment, namely, the number of brothers and sisters the boys had. Table 3.4, which is similar in format to Table 3.1, presents a number of comparisons between sub-groups within both the "Young School Leavers" and the Youth Employment samples. These confirm the results of many other educational studies by exhibiting a marked relationship between the boys' academic characteristics and the sizes of the families from which they came.

Direct comparisons between the two survey samples are in this case invalidated by the fact that the age-distributions of the boys - and hence of their parents - at the time of the surveys were different, in that the "Young School Leavers" sample included a proportion of children aged 13-14 (see footnote on p.III 3). Because many families are not yet complete by the time the older children are aged 13-14, it follows that the families of 15-16 year olds will be somewhat larger, on average, than the families of 13-14 year olds. It is this difference which is reflected in the distributions shown in columns (2) and (3) of the table. However, comparisons may legitimately be made between sub-groups within the "Young School Leavers" and Youth Employment samples respectively, and by this means we may detect trends running across the entire school-leaving population, even though absolute figures are not directly comparable as between the two samples.

Looking first at the figures shown in columns (1) and (2), it can be seen

Table 3.4 Distribution of sample boys by number of children in family, analysed by school type and level of examinations sat, with comparable data from the "Young School Leavers" enquiry

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN BOY'S FAMILY	"YOUNG SCHOOL LEAVERS" SAMPLE (BOYS)		YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SAMPLE OF 15-16 YEAR OLD BOY LEAVERS						
				SCHOOL TYPE			EXAMINATIONS SAT		
	Boy leavers aged 17-18	Boy leavers aged 15-16	TOTAL	Grammar/ Technical	Compre- hensive	Secondary modern	GCE[o]	CSE[+]	Neither[x]
	(1) %	(2) %	(3) %	(4) %	(5) %	(6) %	(7) %	(8) %	(9) %
One child only	16	10	8	10	6	8	10	11	6
Two children	40	29	24	34	23	22	39	34	18
Three children	25	25	22	26	24	21	23	25	21
Four children or more	20	36	46	30	46	48	28	30	54
	-	-	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	610	1599	1647	182	363	1102	145	420	1081

[o] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more "O" Level subjects, including English and Mathematics, as well as subjects at CSE.

[+] Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, which included English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

[x] Sat no subjects either at GCE "O" Level or at CSE. (This category consists almost entirely of 15 year old leavers).

that a considerably higher proportion of leavers aged 17 and over (56%) than of leavers aged 15-16 (39%) came from families of one or two children only, while a higher proportion of younger (36%) than of older (20%) leavers came from families of four or more children. An extension of this trend appears when 15-16 year old leavers are sub-divided according to the type of school attended or according to the level of examinations sat. The major differences, as regards family size, are between grammar and technical school pupils on the one hand and comprehensive and secondary modern pupils on the other, and between examination candidates (or 16 year old leavers) on the one hand and non-examination candidates (or 15 year old leavers) on the other. In each case boys in the former group tended to come from smaller and boys in the latter group from larger families.

While the statistical association between family size and the academic characteristics considered is a fairly substantial one, its ultimate interpretation raises difficult problems which cannot be adequately answered within the limitations of the present enquiry. However, it will be shown in later chapters that this variable, particularly when taken in conjunction with the individual boy's position in the family, yields interesting relationships with other measures which are of central relevance to employment.

3.4 Income and accommodation

The predictive power of measures based upon the occupation of the Head of Household (see Section 3.2 above) is no doubt due partly to the fact that differences in occupational level are normally associated rather closely with differences in living standards. Attempts have been made, for example as part of the Plowden research into children's performance at primary school, to weigh the contributions made by physical and economic versus social and psychological factors in determining social class differences. In practice, however, it proves to be a difficult and complicated task to obtain by survey methods any satisfactory measure of such key economic variables as the relative "affluence" or "poverty" of the home environment. The basic problem here is that families' physical and economic circumstances vary in so many relevant respects that a whole survey interview is really required to cover them at all adequately, whereas in practice only a very limited and simplified set of questions can usually be devoted to this topic.

The present study is very much subject to this limitation. A number of questions relating to income and family circumstances were, in fact, asked and at a preliminary stage of the analysis some attempt was made to derive measures relating to "poverty", physical deprivation or the like. However, the conclusion reached was that our data were not really capable of yielding direct or "pure" measures of these variables. We have therefore selected for use in the analyses presented in this section two measures which are straightforward in derivation and which do appear to have some discriminative and predictive value for our purpose, but whose ultimate interpretation leaves some room for ambiguity.

In Table 3.5 the sample boys have been classified according to the net income of the head of the household to which they belonged (in the majority of cases, of course, the boy's father). The same academic breakdown has

Table 3.5 Distribution of sample boys by net income of Head of Household, analysed by school type and level of examinations sat, with comparable data from the "Young School Leavers" enquiry

NET INCOME OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD		"YOUNG SCHOOL LEAVERS" SAMPLE (BOYS AND GIRLS)		YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SAMPLE OF 15-16 YEAR OLD BOY LEAVERS						
					SCHOOL TYPE			EXAMINATIONS SAT		
		Leavers aged 17-18	Leavers aged 15-16	TOTAL	Grammar/ Technical	Compre- hensive	Secondary modern	GCE[o]	CSE[+]	Neither[x]
Weekly	Per annum	(1) %	(2) %	(3) %	(4) %	(5) %	(6) %	(7) %	(8) %	(9) %
Up to £12.50	Up to £650	10	20	13	11	16	12	7	7	16
Over £12.50 - £15.00	Over £650 - £780	13	22	15	14	16	16	15	11	17
Over £15.00 - £20.00	Over £780 - £1040	28	33	34	34	32	34	34	38	32
Over £20.00 - £25.00	Over £1040 - £1300	21	14	19	20	21	19	21	23	18
Over £25.00	Over £1300	28	10	15	19	12	15	21	17	14
Refusal to give details of income		1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2
Don't know/No answer		-	-	2	1	2	2	0	2	2
TOTAL		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)		1068	3170	1647	181	363	1102	145	420	1081

[o] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more "O" Level subjects, including English and Mathematics, as well as subjects at CSE.

[+] Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, which included English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

[x] Sat no subjects either at GCE "O" Level or at CSE. (This category consists almost entirely of 15 year old leavers).

been used as in Tables 3.1 f. and, since an identical income question was asked as part of the "Young School Leavers" enquiry, we are once again able to present data from that study so as to complete the cross-section of boy school-leavers. It must, however, be remembered that the "Young School Leavers" interviews were carried out between two and three years earlier than those for the present enquiry (May 1966 as compared with June 1968 - April 1969) and that wage and salary rates generally rose significantly in the meantime. As in the case of Table 3.4, therefore, figures from the two studies are not directly comparable, but general trends spanning the population of school-leavers as a whole may nevertheless be detected.

Comparison of columns (1) and (2) shows that the fathers (or heads of household) of older school-leavers were significantly more likely to have relatively high incomes than were the fathers of 15-16 year old leavers. For example, some 49% of the former, as against 24% of the latter, had incomes of over £20 per week (i.e. in 1966). Inspection of columns (7)-(9) of the table shows that this downward trend in income continues - though less steeply - as we pass from GCE candidates to boys who left without sitting GCE or CSE. The trend with school type is less marked and consistent, but it can be seen that fathers of boys at grammar and technical schools had rather higher incomes, on average, than fathers of boys at comprehensive or secondary modern schools.

In seeking to interpret this result, the problem is to decide to what extent the income of the Head of Household should be regarded as an (extremely rough) indication of the family's level of affluence and to what extent as a measure of the Head of Household's personal characteristics (i.e. as reflected in his earning capacity). Without knowing this, we cannot say for certain whether some boys do better than others academically because they come from more affluent homes, or because they are the sons of abler fathers, or for both reasons.

As one further index of the family's circumstances, we show in Table 3.6 the proportions of boys within each of our standard academic categories whose families owned, or were in process of buying, their living accommodation, as opposed to renting it (or occupying it rent-free). Even if it could be assumed that all families which were financially capable of buying their accommodation did so, this would still, of course, be a very crude measure, since a family which could afford to buy in one part of the country would be compelled to rent elsewhere. It is probably underlying variation of this kind between areas which accounts for the fact that the families of leavers from comprehensive schools, almost all of which were situated in conurbations or urban areas, tended to rent, rather than own, their accommodation.

In spite of such extraneous sources of variation, however, it can be seen that the measure does discriminate strongly between families of older leavers and families of 15-16 year old leavers ("Young School Leavers" data) and also between 16-year-old examination candidates and unqualified 15-year-old leavers (our data). It is also worth noting that the figures in columns (2) and (3) of Table 3.6 are closely comparable, showing that the overall distribution of families of boys included in the Youth Employment sample with respect to tenure of accommodation is closely comparable with the national distribution, as shown by the "Young School Leavers" data.

Table 3.6 Distribution of sample boys by family's tenure of accommodation, analysed by school type and level of examinations sat, with comparable data from the "Young School Leavers" enquiry

FAMILY TENURE OF ACCOMMODATION	"YOUNG SCHOOL LEAVERS" SAMPLE (BOYS)		YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SAMPLE OF 15-16 YEAR OLD BOY LEAVERS						
				SCHOOL TYPE			EXAMINATIONS SAT		
	Boy leavers aged 17-18	Boy leavers aged 15-16	TOTAL	Grammar/ Technical	Compre-hensive	Secondary modern	GCE[o]	CSE[+]	Neither[x]
	(1) %	(2) %	(3) %	(4) %	(5) %	(6) %	(7) %	(8) %	(9) %
Owned or being bought	57	32	30	41	27	29	42	41	24
Other (rented, rent-free etc.)	43	68	69	58	72	69	58	58	74
No answer	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	1	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	610	1599	1647	181	363	1102	145	420	1081

[o] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more "O" Level subjects, including English and Mathematics, as well as subjects at CSE.

[+] Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, which included English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

[x] Sat no subjects either at GCE "O" Level or at CSE. (This category consists almost entirely of 15 year old leavers).

Whilst tenure of accommodation thus proves to be a good discriminator from a technical and empirical viewpoint, doubts once again arise over the matter of interpretation. The assumption referred to above that all families who can afford to buy their accommodation in fact do so is certainly untrue, though financial considerations are, of course, important. The truth seems to be that not only the means but also the ambition to own their home is much more frequently found amongst middle-class than amongst working-class families. Hence it seems most probable that tenure of accommodation functions as a supplementary measure of social class, rather than of affluence as such, and that the trend seen in Table 3.6 is mainly a social class effect.

3.5 The educational status of the home environment

Many studies of the relationship between home background and school performance have shown strong relationships between parents' educational level and achievements and those of their children. There is also evidence that, because of the increasingly close relationship between educational attainments and level of entry into employment, the influence of the former upon an individual's long-term career prospects is becoming increasingly important. This being so, attempts were made in the course of our interviews with boys' fathers to obtain measures of their own and their spouse's educational level, and also of the education of the boy's brothers and sisters (if any).

There are several different ways in which adults may be classified in educational terms. For example, it is possible to look at the type of educational institution last attended, the age at which formal education was terminated or the level of qualifications obtained. All three possibilities were investigated for the purposes of the present analysis and it was decided that the best simple classification was in terms of the age at which the boy's parents terminated their education. Each of the parents was therefore classified according to whether or not he or she stayed on at secondary school beyond the minimum statutory age of school-leaving, suitable corrections being made for the fact that some left school before and some after the date when the school-leaving age was raised from 14 to 15. (Very few of the early leavers had attended any other educational institution since leaving school). The data for the two parents were then interrelated to give the fourfold typology shown in Table 3.7. As in previous tables, comparable data from the "Young School Leavers" enquiry are also given.

Overall figures from the "Young School Leavers" study (not shown here) showed that, at the time when the enquiry was carried out, some two thirds of boy secondary school pupils aged 13-16 had parents both of whom left school at the minimum permitted age. Amongst those who stayed, or proposed to stay, on into the sixth form, however, the proportion was only 43% (col. 1), whilst amongst the younger leavers it rose to 76% (col.2).

A comparison of the distributions in cols.(2) and (3) suggests that the parents of boys in the present sample were somewhat less well-educated than the national average. The largest discrepancy is between proportions of boys both of whose parents stayed on in school beyond the minimum leaving age. However, the figures from the "Young School Leavers" analysis were obtained by a method which assumed that the minimum school-leaving age for

Table 3.7 Distribution of sample boys by school-leaving age of parents, analysed by school type and level of examinations sat, with comparable data from the "Young School Leavers" enquiry

PARENTS' AGES AT LEAVING SCHOOL	"YOUNG SCHOOL LEAVERS" SAMPLE (BOYS)		YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SAMPLE OF 15-16 YEAR OLD BOY LEAVERS						
				SCHOOL TYPE			EXAMINATIONS SAT		
	Boy leavers aged 17-18	Boy leavers aged 15-16	TOTAL	Grammar/ Technical	Compre-hensive	Secondary modern	GCE^{o}	CSE^{+}	Neither^{x}
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Both parents left at the minimum school-leaving age	43	76	79	62	77	82	60	67	86
Father, but not mother, stayed on in school beyond minimum leaving age	14	7	7	11	8	6	10	11	5
Mother, but not father, stayed on in school beyond minimum leaving age	9	5	8	15	8	7	16	13	5
Both parents stayed on in school beyond minimum leaving age	34	13	6	12	7	4	14	8	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	610	1599	1646	182	363	1102	145	420	1081

o Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more "O" Level subjects, including English and Mathematics, as well as subjects at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, which included English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

x Sat no subjects either at GCE "O" Level or CSE. (This category consists almost entirely of 15 year old leavers).

Table 3.8 Ages at leaving school of sample boys' parents, analysed by sample area

PARENTS' AGES AT LEAVING SCHOOL	AREA NUMBER (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Both parents left at the minimum school-leaving age	66	69	86	59	86	77	76	90	86	90	79
Father, but not mother, stayed on in school beyond minimum leaving age	13	8	5	13	2	10	8	4	5	4	7
Mother, but not father, stayed on in school beyond minimum leaving age	10	16	7	14	8	8	8	5	5	3	8
Both parents stayed on in school beyond minimum leaving age	11	7	3	15	4	4	8	1	4	3	6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	167	153	199	153	143	165	145	195	153	167	1639

parents with children ages 13-16 in 1966 was in all cases 14. Since the school-leaving age was in fact raised to 15 in 1947, this procedure must give a slight over-estimate of the proportion of parents who stayed on, since post- as well as pre-1947 15-year-old leavers would have been classified as "stayers on". Hence the real difference between the two samples must be smaller than is suggested by the figures given in cols.(2) and (3) of the table.

Differences in parental educational level as between the various academic categories distinguished in cols.(4)-(9) of Table 3.7 can best be seen by considering proportions of boys both of whose parents left at the minimum age. A marked trend is at once apparent. At one extreme only 60% of GCE candidates and 62% of leavers from grammar/technical schools had parents both of whom left early, whereas for 15-year-old leavers and leavers from secondary moderns the proportions were 86% and 82%. The link between the boys' secondary school history and attainments and those of their parents is thus seen to be a strong one.

As in the case of occupational status, it is important to remember that, while we are interested in the educational status of the home mainly as a predictive factor, it is itself the product of social and regional as well as individual differences. This is well shown by Table 3.8, which compares distributions over the four educational types by area. It can be seen that the proportion of families where both parents left school early varies from 90% in Areas 8 and 10 down to 59% in Area 4. It is interesting and significant to note that the "top" three areas in terms of parental educational level are numbers 4, 1 and 2 - a finding which is exactly paralleled in the case of the boys' sample (cf. Table 2.11 above).

The fact that, overall, nearly four fifths of the boys in the sample had parents both of whom left school at the minimum age means that the distribution of cases over the parental education typology is very skewed, which from a technical point of view is a disadvantage. In an attempt to remedy this a slightly elaborated form of the measure was developed by bringing to bear data on the education of the sample boy's brothers and sisters (if any). The analysis of this information presents a number of difficulties, since the number of brothers and sisters (siblings) obviously varied and because it was impossible to establish satisfactorily, within the scope of one or two survey questions, the academic level of children attending primary or comprehensive schools. Cases where the boy had no siblings of secondary school age or above, or where one or more siblings attended comprehensive schools have therefore been excluded from the analysis presented in Table 3.9.

The family educational typology used in Table 3.9 is the same as that used in Tables 3.7 and 3.8, except that the first type has now been subdivided. The first category now distinguishes cases where the education of both parents and siblings was minimal from cases, placed in the second category, where, although both parents left school early, at least one sibling had attended a selective secondary school and/or undertaken Further or Higher education. As can be seen from the Total column of the table, 50% of the sample now falls into the first category and 30% in to the second.

In order to make clear certain relationships, the data in Table 3.9 have been percentaged both by columns (unbracketed entries) and by rows (bracketed entries). The trend of unbracketed percentages in the top two

Table 3.9 Relationship between parent/sibling educational typology and level of examinations sat by sample boy (for families containing at least two children aged 11+ and no children who were attending or had attended comprehensive schools)

PARENT/SIBLING EDUCATIONAL TYPOLOGY	LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT			
	Wholly or mainly GCE[o]	Wholly or mainly CSE[+]	Neither GCE nor CSE[x]	Total
	%	%	%	%
Both parents left school early, at least one sib attended sec. mod. school, no sib did Higher/Further education	(5) 25	(16) 37	(79) 58	(100) 50
Both parents left school early but at least 1 sib attended grammar/technical school and/or at least 1 sib did Higher/Further education	(12) 36	(21) 30	(67) 30	(100) 30
Father, but not mother, stayed in school beyond minimum leaving age	(15) 10	(39) 11	(47) 4	(100) 6
Mother, but not father, stayed in school beyond minimum leaving age	(21) 16	(38) 13	(41) 5	(100) 8
Both parents stayed in school beyond minimum leaving age	(25) 14	(30) 8	(45) 4	(100) 6
TOTAL	(10) 100	(22) 100	(68) 100	(100) 100
Bases (reweighted)	103	222	708	1033

[o] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more "O" Level subjects, including English and Mathematics, as well as subjects at CSE.

[+] Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, which included English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

[x] Sat no subjects either at GCE "O" Level or at CSE. (This category consists almost entirely of 15 year old leavers).

rows of the table shows clearly that it is from families in the first, rather than the second, category that the non-examination candidates (or 15-year-old leavers) in our sample tended to be drawn. However, it is perhaps more natural to think of boys' academic performance as a function of their home educational background and to scan the bracketed percentages by columns. This shows that homes where at least one of the boy's siblings had been educated at the selective secondary, further or higher educational level were significantly more likely to produce GCE and CSE candidates than were homes where this was not the case, even where both parents had left school at the minimum age. Where one or more of the parents had stayed in school beyond the minimum leaving age, the tendency for the boy to stay on and sit examinations was even more marked.

In general, therefore, it seems that, within the technical limitations described above, the parent/sibling educational typology represents an advance, in terms of discriminative power, over the simpler classification by parents' education alone. What we cannot say with certainty is whether the presence of a better-educated sibling is evidence of a certain level of innate academic ability within the family, or of a family environment which tended to some extent to favour and encourage educational achievement (or both).

3.6 Parental attitudes

We have so far considered various objective characteristics of the boys' home environments, in the expectation that some of these at least will serve as statistical predictors of the employment-related attitudes, decisions and achievements in which we are primarily interested. From a purely statistical point of view there is no necessity to posit sociological or psychological mechanisms to account for any relationships found, but from a practical - or, indeed, a theoretical - viewpoint, an understanding of causal connections is obviously of great importance.

We must therefore consider what types of intervening variable might explain the supposed connection between particular objective features of the home environment and the course of the boys' transition from school to employment. For example, why should a boy from a family consisting wholly of non-manual workers be expected to think and behave differently, in relation to employment, from a boy from a family consisting wholly of unskilled manual workers?

Questions of this sort may clearly have not one but many different and equally valid answers. However, amongst the hypotheses which seem intrinsically most reasonable and which are best supported by previous research is that members of families which differ in, say, socio-economic or occupational status, themselves tend to differ in their attitudes and aspirations, which in turn are related to behaviour. It may further be suggested that this pattern of differences is maintained from one generation to the next partly by a tendency for children to accept and adopt their parents' attitudes.

If we wish to test this hypothesis, it is evident that we require, first, a measure of relevant parental attitudes; secondly, a measure of corresponding attitudes on the part of the boys and, thirdly, a measure of those kinds of behaviour by the boys which the attitudes are supposed to influence. In this chapter we shall be concerned with the first requirement only; the second and third will be dealt with in Chapters V and VI-VII respectively.

What has so far been advanced is merely an outline hypothesis, in the sense that it does not specify which attitudes might be considered relevant in the present context, or how they are to be measured. At the stage of schedule design it was assumed that three main areas needed to be explored, namely: (a) parents' attitudes to work in general; (b) parents' evaluations of various types of job open to school-leavers in relation to the spectrum of employment opportunities and (c) parents' attitudes to secondary education and vocational training as applied to their sons. While this assumption provided an initial framework for the design of questions and items, both the design process itself and the results obtained from pilot work soon made it clear that the three attitudinal areas cited above could not be sharply distinguished in practice.

In these circumstances it was thought best to carry out a preliminary correlational analysis of the responses to all attitude and value items included in the schedule, in order to determine whether there were empirical response-patterns corresponding to any of the various attitudinal dimensions which may theoretically be distinguished. The general picture found was one of low intercorrelation between items, but it was nevertheless possible to detect in correlational terms one broad, underlying theme which seemed to link the responses made to quite a large set of separate attitudinal questions. A scale was therefore formed on the basis of the answers given to 12 items. The responses counted as "positive" in forming the scale were as follows:

1. Q3a Parent did not disagree with the statement; "There does not seem to be much use in half the things they do in school nowadays".
2. Q3b Parent strongly agreed with the statement; "If a boy wants to leave school, it's pointless trying to make him stay on".
3. Q3d Parent agreed with the statement; "It's not worth keeping a boy in school after fifteen unless he is very bright".
4. Q3e Parent strongly agreed with the statement; "Staying on at school after sixteen is only worthwhile for boys who are going on to college or university".
5. Q27a Parent agreed with the statement; "People make too much fuss about training and apprenticeships - if a boy is happy in his job, that's all that matters".
6. Q28d Parent did not disagree with the statement; "Getting a good job depends on luck more than anything else".
7. Q28f Parent did not disagree with the statement; "Nine people out of ten wouldn't work if they didn't have to".
8. Q28g Parent agreed with the statement; "When all's said and done, the most important thing about any job is the pay".
9. Q28h Parent did not disagree with the statement; "Getting a good job depends on who you know, not what you know".

10. Q29c Parent did not rate "Being able to take a pride in your work" amongst his three most desired job-characteristics.

11. Q29e Parent did not rate "Learning a trade or getting a good training" amongst his two most desired job-characteristics.

12. Q29h Parent rated "Working near home" amongst his six most desired job-characteristics.

Since there were twelve possible "positive" responses, scores on the final scale ranged from 0 to 12.

On a first scanning, this set of responses appears quite disparate and lacking in any obvious and coherent conceptual theme. On closer inspection, however, a possible line of interpretation does seem to emerge. Nine of the 12 responses listed (numbers 1-7, 9 and 11) seem to express or imply a belief that effort and perseverance, whether in education or in employment, are unlikely to secure worthwhile benefits or advancement for the person concerned. The underlying attitude to life and work seems to be one of apathy tinged with cynicism. The remaining three responses (numbers 8, 10 and 12 as listed) place a high value on extrinsic and material attractions of a job (pay and convenience) and a correspondingly low value upon intrinsic and intangible satisfactions (pride in work). These seem to express a materialistic system of values. Whilst these two themes are conceptually distinct, it seems plausible and in accord with common observation that they should be associated with one another in the outlook of particular individuals (as implied by the pattern of correlations). In other words, the existence of the scale suggests that parents may be ranged on a dimension with "cynical-apathetic materialists" at one extreme and "actively aspiring idealists" at the other.

On the basis of this interpretation, the scale was provisionally labelled as a measure of "Cynical-apathetic materialism" (CAM), the scoring convention being such that individuals with a high scale score are those closest to the "cynically apathetic materialist" type. At this point, of course, the interpretation is a highly subjective one; its validity can only be established by the finding of consistent and meaningful relationships between the scaled variable and other measures used in the analysis. The analyses presented in Tables 3.10-14 below represent some first steps towards validation in these terms.

It was suggested above that parental attitudes might constitute one type of psychological link between objective indices of the home environment, on the one hand, and the boys' own attitudes and behaviour on the other. As a first step towards testing this general hypothesis, we need to investigate the relationship between objective measures of home background or parental characteristics and parents' scores on the CAM scale.

For the purposes of Table 3.10, the SEG classification has been simplified to a four-point occupational status scale. All but 2% of the fathers interviewed could be assigned scores on this scale. Since we are here considering the relationship between two characteristics (i.e. occupational status and attitude) of a given individual, rather than of a whole family or household, the analysis is confined to cases where the father was the parent interviewed. It can be seen that there is a substantial overall association between occupational status (or social class) and scores on the CAM

Table 3.10 Relationship between father's occupational status and his score on the "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" scale

CAM SCALE SCORE AND INTERPRETATION	OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL					
	Non-manual/ supervisory	Skilled manual	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	Unclassified	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
0-3 "Actively aspiring idealists"	37	19	19	8	(41)	24
4-5	26	23	24	17	(14)	24
6-7	24	29	28	36	(25)	28
8-12 "Cynically apathetic materialists"	13	29	29	39	(20)	25
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	(100)	100
Bases (reweighted)	368	590	340	94	31	1424

Table 3.11 Relationship between father's income and his score on the "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" scale

INCOME (1968-69 VALUES)			CAM SCALE SCORE					
Weekly	Per Annum		0-3	4-5	6-7	8-12	Total	Base (rewtd)
Up to £12.10	Up to £650	%	9	18	24	49	100	123
£12.51 - £15.00	£651 - £780	%	15	19	32	34	100	203
£15.01 - £20.00	£781 - £1040	%	24	27	26	23	100	514
£20.01 - £25.00	£1041 - £1300	%	26	24	27	23	100	310
£25.01 - £30.00	£1301 - £1560	%	30	24	30	16	100	155
Over £30.00	Over £1560	%	43	26	22	9	100	82
No answer or refused to give incom income		%	18	15	47	21	100	37
TOTAL		%	24	24	28	25	100	1424

scale, though there is virtually no difference in attitude distribution between skilled and simi-skilled manual workers.

Table 3.11 shows that a close and regular relationship also exists between the fathers' incomes and their scores on the CAM scale. Some degree of correlation would have been expected here on the evidence of Table 3.10, since income is fairly closely related to occupational status, but it is, perhaps, rather surprising that the correlation between an attitude variable and a purely economic index is so strong. It is conceivable that scores on the CAM scale are to some extent directly related to the individual's motivation (or ability) to achieve financial rewards in employment. Whether or not this is so, there is an apparent paradox in the fact that overt concern with material rewards (which contributes to high scores on the scale - see list of items) is associated with lower, rather than with higher, incomes. It seems that a preoccupation with pay etc. may be a symptom of economic deprivation, rather than economic success. A similar paradox exists in the case of the boys, as will be shown in due course.

Table 3.12 Relationship between parents' educational level and score on the "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" scale

CAM SCALE SCORE AND INTERPRETATION	PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL LEVEL				
	Both parents left early	Mother left early, father late	Father left early, mother late	Both parents left late	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
0-3 "Actively aspiring idealists"	19	36	36	48	23
4-5	22	26	23	21	23
6-7	26	27	26	19	28
8-12 "Cynically apathetic materialists"	30	11	15	12	27
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	1294	117	135	93	1639

Table 3.12 shows the relationship between the educational level of the boys' parents and the informant's score on the CAM scale. In the light of the results just presented and of the relationship which is known to exist between an individual's education and his occupational level, we would expect to find fathers who themselves left school early scoring higher on the scale than those who stayed on in school beyond the minimum age. The interesting point about the results shown in Table 3.12, however, is that the informant's score on the CAM scale was correlated to roughly the same extent with the educational level of both spouses. In other words, we have an example of some kind of familial interaction effect such that a person's attitudes are a function, not only of his or her own educational level, but also - and independently - with the educational level of the person to whom he or she is married. The exact nature of the interaction is a matter for speculation: it could be either that the propensity to marry someone above or below one's own educational level is linked to attitudes on the CAM dimension; or that, once married, the individual's attitudes tend to be

influenced by those of his or her spouse. Indeed, both explanations may apply.

The analyses presented in the last three tables are perhaps sufficient to show that the dimension measured by the CAM scale is a sort of attitudinal common denominator of the differences in home background previously shown in terms of status, income, education etc.. So far, therefore, our hypothesis that this attitudinal dimension is a key part of the social psychological mechanism whereby the boys' attitudes and behaviour are influenced by their home backgrounds seems to be consistent with the evidence.

Table 3.13(a) Relationship between parent's score on the "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" scale and type of school attended

PARENT'S CAM SCORE AND INTERPRETATION	Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
0-3 "Actively aspiring idealists"	37	28	19	23
4-5	23	24	22	23
6-7	24	28	28	28
8-12 "Cynically apathetic materialists"	16	20	30	27
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	180	363	1096	1639

Tables 3.13(a) and (b) show the distributions of parents' scores on the CAM scale, according to their sons' basic academic characteristics. It can be seen from Table (a) that there is a rather regular gradation in terms of school type, with high scores on the scale most prevalent amongst the parents of secondary modern pupils and least prevalent amongst those of grammar/technical school pupils. Table (b), on the other hand, shows that the major difference is between the parents of 15 year old leavers (i.e. non-examination candidates) and those of 16 year old leavers. It is therefore likely that the differences revealed in Table (a) are mainly a reflection of the relative proportions of 15 and 16 year old leavers within the three school-type sub-samples. In general, however, it is clear that both high and low scorers on the scale are to be found amongst the parents of pupils at all three types of secondary school.

Table 3.13(b) Relationship between parent's score on the "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" scale and level of examinations sat by son

PARENT'S CAM SCORE AND INTERPRETATION	(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS BOY SAT			
	Wholly or mainly GCE[o]	Wholly or mainly CSE[+]	Neither GCE nor CSE[x]	Total
	%	%	%	%
0-3 "Actively aspiring idealists"	36	37	16	23
4-5	26	29	20	23
6-7	22	23	30	28
8-12 "Cynically apathetic materialists"	16	12	34	27
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	145	420	1081	1646

[o] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more "O" Level subjects, including English and Mathematics, as well as subjects at CSE.

[+] Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, which included English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

[x] Sat no subjects either at GCE "O" Level or at CSE. (This category consists almost entirely of 15 year old leavers).

3.7 Parental involvement in son's career progress

There is one further aspect of the process whereby home background factors influence boys' career progress which can be elucidated by a study of the parents' responses. In addition to questions about objective characteristics of the home and the family and questions designed to measure attitudes and values, the Parents' Stage I interview schedule also contained a number of questions intended to gauge the parent's degree of knowledge of, and involvement in, his son's career-decisions and efforts to obtain suitable employment. (See Q1, Q5-18 and Q35-36 in the Parents' interview schedule reproduced in Appendix D).

The main topics or issues which we had in mind in designing these questions were as follows: parent's knowledge of and views on son's school-leaving intentions; parent's knowledge of and views on son's occupational intentions; the amount of contact and discussion which had taken place between parent and son regarding these topics; parent's knowledge and views on who could, and who should, give his son vociational help and guidance; and personal action taken by the parent, either directly to obtain a job for his son, or

Table 3.14 (a) Parent's knowledge of and views on son's job-choice, analysed by (a) type of school son attended

PARENT'S KNOWLEDGE AND VIEWS	(a) TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Parent approved son's job choice	74	76	76	76
Parent knew but was equivocal about son's job choice	3	5	5	5
Parent disapproved of son's job choice	4	8	7	7
Parent didn't know son's choice but had views on the subject	7	5	5	5
Parent didn't know and had no views	7	2	2	2
Parent said son had not yet decided but that he (parent) had views on the subject	4	3	3	3
Parent said son had not yet decided and he (parent) had no views on subject	1	1	1	1
TOTAL (all parents)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	182	363	1102	1647

to consult others, or by being present at the son's interview with a Careers Officer.

The results presented in Table 3.14 were derived by combining the answers given to three questions on the Parents interview schedule. The parents were first asked whether or not they knew what their son intended to do after leaving school. Those who professed to know were then asked whether or not they considered their son's choice to be suitable, while those who did not know were asked whether they had any views on what sort of job their son should take up. We thus have for each parent who replied an indication both of knowledge and of opinion concerning the son's choice of career. The main answer-permutations are spelled out as categories in Table 3.14.

From the Total column of the table it can be seen at once that three quarters of the parents questioned said that they both knew and approved of their son's choice of job (in a few cases further education, rather than or in addition to a job as such, was referred to). By contrast, only 7% of parents knew and definitely disapproved of their son's choice, though the 5% of qualified or equivocal answers may also have expressed some

Table 3.14(b) Parent's knowledge of and views on son's job-choice, analysed by (b) level of examinations son sat

PARENT'S KNOWLEDGE AND VIEWS	(b) EXAMINATIONS SAT Wholly/ mainly GCE	Wholly/ mainly CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Parent approved son's job choice	75	79	75	76
Parent knew but was equivocal about son's job choice	4	4	5	5
Parent disapproved of son's job choice	2	7	8	7
Parent didn't know son's choice but had views on the subject	7	3	6	5
Parent didn't know and had no views	5	2	2	2
Parent said son had not yet decided but that he (parent) had views on the subject	4	4	3	3
Parent said son had not yet decided and he (parent) had no views on subject	1	1	1	1
TOTAL (all parents)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	145	420	1081	1647

measure of doubt or misgiving. In all, therefore, some 88% of parents claimed to know what their son's career intentions were. Of the remaining 12%, 4% said that their son had not made up his own mind; this agrees quite well with the figure of 3% arrived at independently through analysis of the boys' answers (see below Chapter VII). Only about 4% of parents admitted to having no views on their son's choice of job or career, but it is probable that the proportion of parents who in practice took very little interest is higher than this (see below).

The main feature of the results in the body of Tables 3.14(a) and (b) is the lack of any significant differences between groups distinguished according to the son's school type or level of examinations sat. In particular, it seems that, in terms of their answers to this set of questions, the parents of 15-year-old leavers (i.e. non-examination candidates) were just as knowledgeable and concerned about their son's career decisions as were other parents.

The fact that parents were willing and able to express views concerning their son's career in an interview situation does not justify us in assuming that these views had been communicated to the boy himself. In an effort to discover what the level of communication on this topic between parent and son actually was, we asked parents whether they had ever talked to their son about what he was going to do after leaving school and, if so, how often. Some 58% of parents claimed to have talked to their son about this "many times", a further 26% said they had talked about it "a few times", 7% said they had talked "just once or twice", while 9% said they had never spoken to their son on this subject at all. This measure is, of course, a very crude one, since it tells us nothing about the occasion, length or depth of the discussions referred to. However, it is, perhaps, significant that, at a point in time when the boys' transition to employment was imminent or actually in progress, as many as 1 in 10 had apparently never discussed the matter with the parent interviewed (normally the father).

We have so far considered direct parental influence upon the boys' careers purely in terms of advice, communication and discussion. While these are likely to be important where the problem is seen as one of "career choice", it must be remembered that many of the boys and parents in our sample probably saw their problem in much more concrete and practical terms as that of "getting a job". From this point of view, what the situation requires is not an abstract discussion of career possibilities but practical help in obtaining employment. Other studies have indicated that working class school-leavers, in particular, tend to look to their family and relatives to provide such help. We therefore asked the parents in our sample whether they themselves had done anything about arranging something for their son to do after leaving school. An analysis of the answers given is presented in Table 3.15.

As before, the main interest of this table lies in the distribution of percentages in the Total column. From this it can be seen that 37% of

Table 3.15 What parents said they themselves had done about arranging son's post-school career, analysed by (a) type of school son attended

	(a) TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED			
WHAT PARENT HAD DONE	Grammar/ Technical	Comprehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Helped with job-applications etc	11	9	10	10
Personally contacted employers	11	13	17	16
Accompanied son to employer's interview	3	3	5	5
Employed son/found him a job	4	2	4	3
Arranged for son to sit entrance examination	1	1	1	1
Other answers	5	4	3	3
Had done nothing	68	67	61	63
TOTAL (all parents)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	182	363	1102	1647

Table 3.15 What parents said they themselves had done about arranging son's post-school career, analysed by (b) level of examinations son sat

WHAT PARENT HAD DONE	(b) EXAMINATIONS SAT			
	Wholly/ mainly GCE	Wholly/ mainly CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Helped with job-applications etc.	8	11	9	10
Personally contacted employers	13	14	17	16
Accompanied son to employer's interview	3	3	5	5
Employed son/found him a job	2	3	4	3
Arranged for son tc sit entrance exam	*	2	1	1
Other answers	4	4	3	3
Had done nothing	69	64	62	63
TOTAL (all parents)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	145	420	1081	1647

parents claimed to have given their son some practical help. Of these, 19% had either actually found the boy a job or had themselves contacted prospective employers on his behalf. The other main contributions were helping with written job-applications (10%) and providing moral support by accompanying the boy to employment interviews. It is worth pointing out that, whereas the differences are not larege, there is a distinct tendency for the parents of secondary modern pupils and of 15-year-old leavers to have been more active in actually obtaining a job for their son than were the parents of older and, in most cases, better qualified leavers.

Still thinking mainly in terms of practical help towards obtaining employment, another recourse open to parents is to solicit advice, suggestions or assistance from other adults. The persons consulted may, of course, range from relatives and friends to representatives of the official careers guidance services. A question on other persons consulted was included in the Parents interview and the answers given are analysed in Table 3.16.

From the Total column it can be seen that half the parents claimed to have talked to somebody other than their son about his post-school career. The figure of 18% for "spouse" may be an under-estimate, since some informants possibly took the question to refer to deliberate consultations only and excluded incidental discussions within the family circle. Nevertheless, "spouse" accounts for the largest single group of answers, followed by friends, colleagues or acquaintances at work (16%) and other relatives (13%). One fifth of those parents who had consulted anybody mentioned members of the Youth Employment Service (10%), while 15% of the

Table 3.16 People whom parents said they had talked to about their son's post-school career analysed by (a) type of school son attended and (b) level of examinations son sat

PEOPLE WHOM PARENT HAD TALKED TO	(a) TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	(b) EXAMINATIONS SAT Wholly/ mainly GCE	Wholly/ mainly CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Spouse	16	19	18	18	19	17	18
Other relative(s)	14	14	12	15	15	12	13
Careers teacher	7	3	3	8	5	2	3
Head teacher	12	3	8	8	13	5	8
Other teacher	10	5	3	8	7	3	4
Member of the YES	9	6	12	12	14	9	10
Friend/colleague at work	15	19	15	15	20	14	16
Representative of prospective employer	6	2	5	6	8	3	5
Others	3	3	2	1	1	3	2
Talked to nobody	49	50	51	45	40	55	50
TOTAL (all parents)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	182	363	1102	145	420	1081	1647

Table 3.17 People who parent thought might be able to help son about jobs at time of school-leaving, analysed by (a) type of school son attended and (b) level of examinations son sat

PEOPLE WHO PARENT THOUGHT MIGHT HELP	(a) TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED			(b) EXAMINATIONS SAT			
	Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Wholly/ mainly GCE	Wholly/ mainly CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Member of YES	38	40	42	42	46	39	41
"Labour Exchange"	5	7	2	3	4	3	3
Careers teacher	19	4	8	20	12	6	8
Head teacher	9	6	10	11	10	8	9
Other teacher	11	21	12	14	16	13	14
Relatives	13	14	11	15	13	11	12
Friends	11	8	9	12	11	8	9
Employers or their representatives	4	2	2	3	4	2	2
Other official agencies	3	2	2	3	2	2	2
Other answers	11	11	6	11	13	6	8
None mentioned	24	26	33	22	23	34	31
TOTAL (all parents)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	182	363	1102	145	420	1081	1647

answers referred to school teachers (though in most cases not careers teachers as such).

Turning now to the figures in the body of the tables, we find that, overall, the parents of 15-year-old leavers were rather less likely to have consulted anybody than the parents of older leavers. This trend was most marked in the case of consultations with teachers - a finding which is in line with the results of other studies of contacts between the home and the school. The group which seemed, overall, to have been most active in consultation consisted of parents of CSE candidates.

Having questioned the parents about any active contributions which they had made to the formation of their son's career plans, we next tested their knowledge about other people, official or unofficial, who might be able to help a school-leaver as regards employment. The answers given to a question on this topic are analysed in Table 3.17.

Overall, 69% of parents were able to suggest one or more types of person who might help. The list of suggestions is headed by members of the Youth Employment Service (41%); 31% of parents referred to teachers (but only 8% to careers teachers as such), while 21% referred to relatives or friends. Parents of older leavers were in general able to suggest more people who might help than were those of 15-year-olds. The proportion of parents referring to teachers showed a quite marked positive association with the son's academic level; parents of boys sitting wholly or mainly GCE subjects made such references in 45% of cases, parents of CSE candidates in 38% of cases and parents of 15-year-old leavers in only 27% of cases.

The last set of questions in this sequence focussed upon parents' knowledge of the Youth Employment Service and its functions and upon whether they had been in any way involved in their son's dealings with a Careers Officer. All but 5% of parents claimed to have heard of the Careers Officer (or whatever the local title of members of the Service happened to be). When questioned on what a Careers Officer did, 70% referred to his functions of individual occupational assessment and guidance, while 66% referred to his placement role. They were then asked whether, so far as they knew, their son had had a personal interview with a Careers Officer; if so, whether they or their spouse had been invited to attend and, if invited, whether either or both had attended. Answers given to these questions have been combined to form the classification shown in Table 3.18.

Let us first consider the figures to the right of the brackets in the Total column. These show that, in 3% of cases, it was claimed that both parents had attended the Youth Employment interview; in 22% of cases, that one parent had attended. Of the remaining parents, 28% thought that their son had not yet had a Youth Employment interview, or were not sure (in fact, about 12% of boys had not had an interview by Stage I - see Chapter X below), while 5% said they had never heard of the Careers Officer (or whatever his local title was).

From the figures to the left of the brackets in the Total column it can be seen that some 37% of the parents questioned recalled that an invitation to attend their son's Youth Employment interview had been received. It may also be deduced that virtually no parents attended the interview without having received a prior invitation, whereas one or both parents attended in two thirds of cases where an invitation was received. However,

Table 3.18 Whether parents were invited to son's Youth Employment interview and whether they attended, analysed by (a) type of school son attended and (b) level of examinations son sat Table 3.18

WHETHER INVITED/ WHETHER ATTENDED	(a) TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED			(b) EXAMINATIONS SAT			
	Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Wholly/ mainly GCE	Wholly/ mainly CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Parents invited, both attended	3) 3	1) 1	3) 3	3) 4	5) 5	2) 2	3) 3
Parents not invited or DK*, both attended	0)	0)	*)	1)	0)	*)	*)
Parents invited, one parent attended	11) 13	12) 12	24) 26	13) 16	23) 25	20) 21	20) 22
Parents not invited or DK*, one attended	2)	*)	2)	2)	1)	1)	1)
Parents invited, neither attended	7) 44	14) 49	15) 39	5) 41	11) 43	16) 41	14) 42
Parents not invited or DK*, neither attended	37)	34)	24)	36)	32)	25)	28)
Parent thought son had had no YE interview, or wasn't sure	35	30	26	34	24	29	28
Parent had never heard of YEO/CO	5	7	4	6	2	6	5
No answer	*	1	1	0	*	1	1
TOTAL (all parents)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	182	363	1102	145	420	1081	1647

* i.e. Parent either stated definitely that neither he nor his spouse had been invited to attend the interview, or could not say whether an invitation had been received or not.

these figures should not be taken too literally, since no doubt some parents had either forgotten or been unaware that an invitation was received.

The results in the body of the tables show several interesting trends. For example, the proportion of cases where one or both parents had attended the interview was 16% in the case of pupils at grammar and technical schools; 13% in the case of pupils at comprehensive schools; but 29% in the case of pupils at secondary moderns. The corresponding proportions of parents who received an invitation were 21%, 27% and 42%. From Table (b) it can be seen that parent(s) of GCE candidates attended in 20% of cases, parent(s) of CSE candidates in 30% of cases and parents of 15-year-old non-examination candidates in 23% of cases, while invitations were received in 21%, 39% and 38% of cases respectively. It thus appears that parents of pupils at secondary modern schools and of CSE candidates were both most likely to be invited and most likely to attend the Youth Employment interview. On the other hand, 40% of parents of GCE candidates and of parents of pupils at grammar or technical schools had no knowledge of any Youth Employment interview which their son might have had. This compares with 26% for parents of CSE candidates and 34% overall.

In order to appreciate the significance of the results shown in Tables 3.16 - 3.18 as they bear upon the efforts of the official careers guidance agencies, this section should be read in conjunction with Chapters IX and X. For the present, however, we are interested in the figures given mainly as indices of parents' knowledge of and participation in their son's efforts to find suitable employment. In reviewing the results from this point of view, we began to suspect the existence of some underlying and generalized dimension of parental attitudes and behaviour which was reflected, not so much in differing views, as in the presence or absence of positive views of any kind regarding the sons' careers. An analysis was accordingly undertaken which focussed upon the "Knows/Does not know", "Has views/Has no views", "Has taken action/Has taken no action" aspect of each set of answers. This showed that certain of the items so derived did tend to intercorrelate in the way predicted. The individual items concerned were as follows:

Q.6	Parent said he had never talked to his son about what he (the son) was going to do after he left school.
Q.7-8	Parent had neither had a serious talk with anyone else, nor done anything personally, about arranging something for his son to do after leaving school.
Q.9	Parent could suggest nothing that he thought a boy leaving school should do for himself as regards getting a job.
Q10	Parent could think of nobody, apart from the boy's parents, who might be able to help a boy about jobs round about the time of leaving school.
Q11-12	Parent had never heard of the Careers Officer/Youth Employment Officer, or could not say what a CO/YEO did.
Q36	Parent said he did not have a real talk with his son as often as once a week.

It was decided to construct an index of parental "Lack of Knowledge and Concern" (LKC) by scoring 1 in each case where one of the responses listed was given and 0 for all other responses to the questions concerned. Since there were six items involved, possible scores on the index ranged from 0 to 6. From a technical point of view this index suffered from two flaws, namely, that the level of intercorrelation between the constituent items - and hence the reliability of the composite index - was rather low and that the proportion of informants scored "positively" on most of the items was small, with the result that scores on the index were markedly skewed. Nevertheless, in view of the relevance to the enquiry of the dimension which the index appeared to measure, it was decided to proceed with certain analyses based upon it.

Table 3.19 Relationship between parents' scores on the "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" scale and on the "Lack of Knowledge and Concern" index

		CAM SCALE SCORE						
LKC SCORE AND INTERPRETATION		0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-12	Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
0	"Relatively knowledgeable and concerned"	51	44	36	30	25	15	33
1		34	39	35	35	33	36	35
2		10	13	19	24	27	26	21
3-6	"Ignorant and indifferent"	5	4	10	11	15	24	11
	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)		108	271	372	457	298	141	1647

Table 3.19 shows the extent to which parents' scores on the LKC index are predictable from their scores on the "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" attitude scale. Because of its skewed distribution it has been necessary to condense the index to four values by combining scores 3-6. However, in order to better demonstrate the relationship a rather less condensed, six-point version of the CAM scale has been used.

It is immediately apparent that a strong and regular association exists between the two measures. For example, 51% of those scoring 0-1 on the CAM scale (the "Actively aspiring idealists") were "Relatively knowledgeable and concerned" about their son's career progress, but the corresponding proportion falls off to only 15% in the case of "Cynically apathetic materialists". The correlation coefficient for this table is .30. It should be noted that individuals scoring 0 on the LKC index have been labelled as only "relatively", rather than "very", knowledgeable and concerned. This is because, given the nature of the constituent items, the index is not capable of discriminating as finely at the "positive" as at the "negative" end of the "Knowledge and concern" spectrum. Hence we are able to identify the relatively knowledgeable and concerned third of the parents' sample, but not the group of very knowledgeable and concerned parents which is no doubt concealed within that third.

The results shown in Table 3.19 seem to demonstrate that lack of knowledge and concern about one's son's career progress is one specific way in which the general attitude to life and work measured by the "Cynical-apathetic materialism" scale tends to manifest itself. It is not, however, the only way, as will be shown in later chapters.

3.8 Summary

1. The results presented in Chapter III are based upon interviews carried out with parents of 95% of the boys in the main sample. One parent was interviewed in each case, preference being given to the father, who was seen in 84% of cases.

2. Details of the boy's father's occupation were obtained and classified by socio-economic group (SEG). Comparative data were available for the national cross-sectional sample of boy school-leavers used in the "Young School Leavers" enquiry. It was found that the overall SEG distribution of the fathers of boys in the Youth Employment sample reflected the national distribution fairly accurately. There were large differences between the SEG distributions of fathers of boys leaving aged 17-18 (included in the "Young School Leavers" enquiry), boys leaving aged 16 and boys leaving aged 15, such that younger leavers tended much more than older ones to be members of the families of manual workers. A similar pattern emerged when the occupations of elder brothers, as well as of fathers, were taken into account. Wide variations, in terms of the distribution of family occupational status, were found between the ten areas covered by the study, suggesting that area differences in the boys' attitudes or behaviour may be due to differences in family background, as well as to more obvious differences between areas, as such.

3. Boys at different types of secondary school and of different academic levels were compared with respect to the number of children in the families to which they belonged. It was found that 16 year old leavers were much more likely than 15 year old leavers to come from small families. Comparative data from the "Young School Leavers" sample showed that sixth formers were more likely still to come from families of one or two children only.

4. Comparisons based upon the income of the head of household (in most cases the boy's father) showed that fathers of 16 year old leavers and pupils at grammar and technical schools earned rather more, on average, than fathers of 15 year old leavers or fathers of pupils at comprehensive and secondary modern schools. However, the earnings differential was greater between fathers of sixth formers and fathers of younger leavers ("Young School Leavers" data).

5. There were clear-cut differences between the families of sixth formers, 16 year old leavers and 15 year old leavers as regards the proportion who owned or were in process of buying their living accommodation; the first group were the most and the last group the least likely to be

owner-occupiers. The overall proportion of owner-occupiers amongst Youth Employment parents was very close to the national average for parents of school-leavers aged 15-16.

6. A parental education typology was formed by determining whether or not each of the boy's parents stayed on at secondary school beyond the minimum school-leaving age. Comparison with the national situation as shown by the "Young School Leavers" enquiry indicated that the obtained distribution of parental educational levels was reasonably representative. The "Young School Leavers" results showed a strong positive correlation between child's and parents' ages of leaving school. Large differences were found between areas in the distribution of parental educational levels. The relationship between family educational status and the boy's examination performance or age of leaving was enhanced when the education of siblings, as well as parents, was taken into account.

7. It was suggested that the observed relationships between objective home background factors and the boys' employment-related attitudes, values and behaviour might be mediated by corresponding differences in parental attitudes, values etc., as transmitted to the boy within the family environment. A preliminary analysis of responses to attitude and value items included in the Parents interview schedule yielded a single attitude scale, which was interpreted as measuring a generalized dimension of "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" (to be contrasted with "Actively-aspiring Idealism"). Scores on this CAM scale were shown to be related to occupational status, income and parental educational level. "Cynically apathetic materialist" attitudes were found to be more typical of parents of 15-year-old than of parents of 16-year-old leavers.

8. In order to elucidate the more direct and deliberate influences which they exerted upon their son's career, parents were questioned to determine how much they knew of the boy's career plans and to what extent they had contributed to the process of choosing and obtaining the first job. Eighty-eight percent claimed to know what their son's career intentions were and three quarters expressed approval of these. However, one in ten said they had never spoken to the boy about his career plans. More than one third mentioned some form of practical help which they had given, including almost one fifth who had contacted prospective employers on the boy's behalf.

9. Half the parents had consulted some other adult about their son's post-school career, including 10% who said they had spoken to a member of the YES and 15% who had spoken to one of the boy's teachers. Four parents in ten spontaneously mentioned members of the YES as persons who might be able to help a boy as regards employment, while three in ten mentioned teachers and two in ten friends or relatives as possible sources of help. However, just under a third of parents could not suggest anybody, apart from his parents, who might be able to help a boy at this stage of his career.

10. Almost all the parents had heard of Careers Officers and most had some general idea of what their functions were. On the other hand, only 37% could recall having been invited to attend their son's Youth Employment interview and in only 25% of cases had one or both of the parents actually attended. In general, a lower than average proportion of the

parents of secondary modern pupils and of 15-year-old leavers had talked to their sons about choice of careers, or were able to cite third parties whom they had consulted or whom their sons might consult about careers. However, these parents had been at least as active as others in actually finding jobs for their sons and in attending Youth Employment interviews.

11. Analysis of responses bearing upon parents' knowledge of and involvement in their son's career decisions suggested that there might be underlying variation on some generalized dimension of parental knowledge and concern. An index was accordingly constructed to measure this dimension in such a way that high scorers on the index were those who showed "Lack of knowledge and concern" (LKC). It was shown that scores on the index, which summarize important differences between parents in the contribution which they made to their son's career, were to a significant extent predictable from scores on the CAM scale described above, which seems to relate to more general life- and work-values.

CHAPTER IV

THE BOYS AS PERSONS: SCHOOL AND LEISURE

4.1 Introduction

A certain amount has already been said about individual differences between the boys in our sample in terms of their academic achievements and potential, and measures based upon such differences play a central role in the Stage I analysis. However, other, non-academic traits are also likely to influence the processes of transition from school to work and of adjustment to employment. A number of analyses designed to identify and measure such traits are described in this chapter.

Two main types of trait are covered by the present study. The first type may be termed "personality" traits - that is, differences between individuals in their general behaviour and style of responding to life. The second type comprises attitudes and values in three main areas of contact with the outside world, namely, school, leisure and employment. Of these the last is, of course, the most directly relevant to the purpose of the enquiry and orientations to employment are dealt with separately in Chapter V. However, since at Stage I the boys had not yet had any direct experience of employment, it was felt that measures of their school- and leisure-related behaviour and attitudes might prove useful for both descriptive and predictive purposes.

In Chapter IV, therefore, we describe various measures of the boys' behaviour and attitudes when at school and when at leisure, these being their two main areas of activity outside the home. In accordance with the general plan of the report, these measures are related to the boys' "visible" academic characteristics (i.e. type of school attended and level of examinations sat), so as to provide readers who are familiar with the secondary educational system with convenient points of reference.

There are also other, more general reasons for wishing to know something about the boys' personal adjustment to secondary education and about the relationships between school and leisure behaviour and attitudes, even though the main focus of the study is upon the transition to employment. While in some senses this transition may be regarded as a "fresh start", in others it is simply one further episode in the boy's personal history and, as such, is bound to be influenced by - and may well be predictable from - his earlier experiences and modes of response.

In these circumstances, and given the rather wide range of relevant data available, it has been hard to decide how deeply to go into the underlying issues which an analysis of the relationship between, for example, "attitude" and "personality" variables inevitably raises. While such issues are, in themselves, of only marginal relevance to the enquiry, there is a need to validate the various measures of personal traits which we have developed by showing that they produce a consistent pattern of interrelationships with each other and with external criteria (such as academic measures). We have accordingly treated the data in a selective manner, presenting and discussing only those analyses which seem most illuminating and useful from the points of view of interpretation and validation and without attempting any very systematic or comprehensive coverage of school and leisure behaviour and attitudes in their own right.

The measures introduced and discussed in Chapter IV are derived from a number of different sources. We deal first with the behavioural ratings of boys in the sample which were provided by teachers. Next, the topic of the boys' attitudes to school is approached from two angles, namely, a scale derived from the boys' own interview responses and teachers' reports of truancy. Thirdly, the development and validation of a scale measuring one aspect of the boys' leisure behaviour and attitudes is described. Finally, we consider ratings made of sample boys by Careers Officers who had conducted youth employment interviews with them and the relationship between these ratings and those made by the boys' teachers.

4.2 Teachers' ratings of behavioural traits: design and preliminary interpretation

One of our key sources of information in compiling a profile of the personal traits of each sample boy was a teacher who knew the boy well in the school situation. It was explained in Section 2.2 how we obtained from these teachers an assessment of each boy's examination-passing potential. On the same assessment form, the teachers also rated the boys in terms of selected behavioural traits by assigning to each boy a score on each of 17 scales of the "semantic differential" type and by answering several questions about the boy's school attendance record. (For full details of the form used, see Appendix C).

The behavioural rating scales used in the final Teacher's Assessment Form were a modified selection drawn from a slightly larger set of scales tested in pilot work. This pilot set was compiled mainly from pupil rating scales used by Hallworth and by White (unpublished). Analysis of pilot data showed, as expected, that most of the varience in the ratings received by individual boys on the scales could be accounted for in terms of a small number of more generalized behavioural dimensions. These dimensions were more clearly identified and measured by means of a factor analysis carried out on data from the main survey. The best solution appeared to be one which accounted for the scores in terms of three underlying factors, which were labelled as "Co-operativeness", "Social Maturity" and "Extraversion" respectively. A standardized factor score was then computed for each boy on each of the three factors.

As always with factor analysis, the initial interpretation of the factors obtained and the "labels" assigned to them depend much upon the individual judgement of the researcher. In order to make clear the basis upon which such judgements were made in the present case, the loadings of the 17 original variables upon the three factors are shown in Table 4.1. (Factor loadings may here be taken as numerical estimates of the extent to which scores assigned to boys on the individual rating scales can be accounted for in terms of the underlying behavioural trait measured by the factor).

Looking first at the column of loadings on Factor I, it will be noted that the scales which show the highest loadings on this factor are, in descending order of numerical values, "Co-operativeness towards teachers", "Reaction to criticism", "Behaviour towards others", "Trustworthiness",

Table 4.1 Factor loadings of seventeen behavioural rating scales from the Teacher's Assessment Form on three factors

Scale Titles+	Factor I "Co-operativeness"	Factor II "Social Maturity"	Factor III "Extraversion"
1. Self-confidence	-.069	.750	.460
2. Use of intelligence	.620	.222	-.118
3. Attitude of staff	.808	.331	-.122
4. Maturity	.224	.802	-.157
5. Attention seeking	-.280	.287	.785
6. Verbal expression	.215	.688	.251
7. Independence	.187	.837	.075
8. Tendency to worry	.476	-.134	-.193
9. Co-operativeness towards teachers	.890	.099	-.016
10. Leadership	.166	.705	.375
11. Reaction to criticism	.808	.073	-.036
12. Trustworthiness	.806	.129	-.066
13. Extraversion	-.022	.428	.794
14. Reliability	.800	.324	-.210
15. Behaviour towards others	.824	.172	-.007
16. Sense of purpose	.574	.584	-.092
17. Excitability	-.194	-.115	.830
% of total variance accounted for by factor	31.1	23.2	14.7

+ For full wording attached to scales, see pp. 421-2

"Attitude of (school) staff (to the boy)" and "Reliability". This first factor was the most clearly-defined of the three and, as usually occurs when one human being is asked to rate another, it has a strongly "evaluative" tone. However, it is worth noting that the loadings of the "Verbal expression" and "Use of intelligence" scales on this factor are not amongst the highest, which suggests that the evaluation implied is not primarily academic or intellectual, but rather personal and moral. In fact, one is tempted to give this factor some such label as "Social Responsibility" or "Good Citizenship", but this would tend to ignore the fact that it is teachers who are doing the rating and that the scales with the highest loadings on the factor have overtones of conformity and amenability to teachers' authority. It was in order to convey these overtones as well as the main evaluative tone of the factor that the title "Co-operativeness" was finally selected.

The scales which show the highest loadings on Factor II are; "Independence", "Maturity", "Self-confidence", "Leadership" and "Verbal expression". Thus the boys who received the highest scores on this factor were those considered by their teachers to answer the following descriptions: "Independent, thinks for himself" (as opposed to "Dependent on others in forming his opinion"); "Seems mature for his age" (as opposed to "Seems immature for his age"); "Self-confident and assured" (as opposed to "Very shy and hesitant"); "Takes a prominent part in things" (as opposed to "Tends to let others take the lead") and "Can express himself easily with words" (as opposed to "It is difficult to understand what he is getting at"). The impression conveyed by the positive aspect of these scales is one of general social competence and confidence and the label "Social Maturity" seemed to express this idea fairly adequately.

In the case of Factor III, we find that only three scales have loadings markedly higher than the rest: these are; "Excitability", "Extraversion" and "Attention seeking". In order to give a proper interpretation of this factor it is once again worth reproducing from the assessment form the full wording of the descriptions which the teachers were, in effect, applying to boys whom they rated highly on these scales. The descriptions were, respectively: "Excitable and impulsive" (as opposed to "Calm and cautious"); "Outward-going and talkative" (as opposed to "Quiet and introspective") and "Shows off, seeks attention" (as opposed to "Avoids attention, hates being in the limelight").

These terms come so close to a definition of the classic "extraversion - introversion" dimension that it seems perverse to give Factor III any other label. However, it should not be assumed that the trait measured is strictly identical with that originally defined by clinicians and personality theorists, or with that which has been investigated by more elaborate personality studies.

4.3 Relationships between behavioural trait scores and objective academic measures

Having thus derived and (tentatively) identified and labelled our three factor variables, the next step was to consider how scores on these variables were distributed amongst boys in the sample. The first analysis to be presented compares distributions of factor scores for sub-samples of boys attending different types of secondary school. It was not possible to produce any specific hypotheses bearing on this issue since, even if there are differences, in terms of behaviour, between secondary school populations as a whole, these are likely to be obscured in the present analysis by the fact that our sample includes only those pupils who left school aged 15-16.

Table 4.2 (a)-(c) show the distributions of scores on the three factor variables for pupils at three types of secondary school. The scores are expressed in terms of standard deviations from the mean score of the total sample and have been grouped into four ranges. The tables thus show proportions of boys who received scores one or more standard deviations above the mean, up to one s.d. above the mean, up to one s.d. below the mean and one or more s.d.'s below the mean respectively.

Table 4.2 Distribution of scores on three factor variables by school type

	Grammar or technical schools	Comprehensive schools	Secondary modern schools	Total
(a) "Co-operativeness"				
	%	%	%	%
1 or more s.d. above mean	13	14	20	18
Less than 1 s.d. above mean	38	32	32	33
Less than 1 s.d. below mean	27	35	31	31
1 or more s.d. below mean	22	19	17	18
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
(b) "Social Maturity"	%	%	%	%
1 or more s.d. above mean	13	12	15	14
Less than 1 s.d. above mean	39	38	36	37
Less than 1 s.d. below mean	35	34	33	34
1 or more s.d. below mean	13	16	16	15
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
(c) "Extraversion"	%	%	%	%
1 or more s.d. above mean	12	16	15	15
Less than 1 s.d. above mean	30	32	37	36
Less than 1 s.d. below mean	39	40	34	34
1 or more s.d. below mean	19	12	14	15
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases for % (reweighted)	169	360	1067	1596

From Table 4.2(a) it appears that leavers from grammar, technical and comprehensive schools tend to be rated slightly lower than average on Co-operativeness, while Table 4.2(c) shows that grammar and technical school leavers also scored below the average on Extraversion. Apart from this, there are no significant differences between the distributions of factor scores within school-type sub-samples.

More significant and substantial differences in the distribution of scores appear when comparisons are made between boys who left at 15 (i.e. without sitting any examinations) and those who stayed on to sit GCE or CSE. The

Table 4.3 Relationship between behavioural traits (factor scores) and school-leaving/level of examinations sat, within school type

	Grammar/Technical school					Comprehensive schools					Secondary modern schools				
	LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT					LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT					LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT				
	GCE[o]	CSE[+]	None[x]	Total	Base (rewtd)	GCE[o]	CSE[+]	None[x]	Total	Base (rewtd)	GCE[o]	CSE[+]	None[x]	Total	Base (rewtd)
(a) Co-operative-ness score															
Above mean %	57	25	18	100	85	4	36	60	100	165	4	28	68	100	555
Below mean %	55	23	22	100	83	5	29	66	100	196	1	14	85	100	512
(b) Social Maturity score															
Above mean %	62	15	23	100	88	4	37	59	100	179	4	27	69	100	542
Below mean %	50	33	17	100	81	4	27	68	100	181	1	16	83	100	526
(c) Extraversion score															
Above mean %	55	25	19	100	71	4	30	66	100	175	3	20	77	100	560
Below mean %	55	24	20	100	97	5	34	62	100	186	3	22	75	100	508
TOTAL %	56	24	20	100	169	4	32	64	100	360	3	21	76	100	1067

[o] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

[+] Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

[x] Sat no subjects either at GCE "O" Level or at CSE (15-year-old leavers).

comparison here is between boys at different levels of academic motivation and achievement, but there is one complication of which account should be taken. At a secondary modern school a boy who is entered for two or three subjects at "O" Level is often (and, by the standards of the school, rightly) considered to be an outstanding pupil. At a grammar school, on the other hand, a boy entered for only two or three subjects at "O" Level would normally (and again quite reasonably by the standards of his school) be considered something of an academic failure. It is therefore possible that the relationship between behavioural or personality traits and the level of examinations sat varies as between different types of secondary school. Accordingly, the analyses presented in Tables 4.3 have been carried out within school-type sub-samples.

For reasons to be explained shortly the three factor scores have been reduced to their simplest possible form for purposes of presentation in Tables 4.3. That is to say, the boys in the sample have in each case been divided into two groups only, namely, those receiving scores above and those receiving scores below the mean for the entire sample. Although this is obviously a relatively crude method of analysis, any major effects or relationships of the behavioural traits should still be apparent as percentage differences between the two rows of each table.

The first point to be noted about Tables 4.3 is that there are significant differences, in terms of academic performance, between high and low scorers on the Co-operativeness and Social Maturity dimensions, but only negligible differences between high and low scorers on the Extraversion dimension. The second general finding is that the main difference between high and low scorers on the first two dimensions is that high scorers are more likely to have sat wholly or mainly CSE examinations and less likely to have left school at 15 (i.e. without sitting either GCE or CSE examinations). The third point is that these effects are most clear-cut within the secondary modern school sub-sample and least marked within the grammar/technical school sub-sample.

We may conclude, therefore, from the results shown in Tables 4.3, that boys who are more co-operative towards teachers and boys who are more socially mature tend to stay on for a fifth year at secondary school and to sit CSE and/or GCE examinations, whereas their less co-operative, less socially mature contemporaries tend to leave at 15. Within the secondary modern school sub-sample, where the fact that our sample does not include sixth-form entrants does not complicate the issue, these effects are quite marked, even though the behavioural trait scores are used in such a crude and simplified way. Thus 32% of the more co-operative secondary modern leavers, for example, had stayed on to sit examinations, as compared with only 15% of the less co-operative.

So far we have been considering the behavioural trait variables one at a time. Whilst this may be helpful from an analytic point of view, we must not lose sight of the fact that the teachers perceived and rated the boys on all traits simultaneously. That is to say, they reacted to them as complex human individuals, rather than as one-dimensional abstractions. It therefore seems worthwhile to carry the analysis one stage further by dividing the boys into empirical "types", using all three behavioural trait variables in combination, and then comparing the distribution of examinations sat etc. within different types. The result of such an analysis is shown in Table 4.4. In view of the general similarity of the within-school-type analyses shown in Table 4.3, it was decided to include all leavers for whom the relevant data was available in Table 4.4 and it is therefore feasible to use a rather finer classification of examinations sat than in the previous analysis.

The eight "behavioural types" distinguished in Table 4.4 were defined by permutating "high" and "low" scores on the three behavioural trait variables as used in Tables 4.3. Thus Type (2), for example, consists of boys who received a score above the mean on Co-operativeness and Social Maturity, but a score below the mean on Extraversion. Since the original variables had only two categories, the total number of types to be distinguished is $2^3 = 8$. The "Examinations sat" classification has been expanded, so that the top category includes all boys who sat 4 or more subjects at GCE "O" Level, the second category includes all who sat between one and three subjects at "O" Level (regardless of whether subjects were also sat at CSE), the third category includes all who sat CSE examinations only and the bottom category includes all who sat no subjects either at "O" Level or at CSE (i.e. 15 year old leavers).

Table 4.4 Distribution of leaving ages/examinations sat within behavioural "types"

TYPE DEFINITION	LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT					
	GCE 4+	GCE 1-3	CSE only	None	Total	Base (rewtd)
(1) Co-operative Socially Mature Extraverts %	13	13	22	52	100	209
(2) Co-operative Socially Mature Introverts %	21	5	20	54	100	185
(3) Co-operative Socially Immature Extraverts %	8	5	13	74	100	179
(4) Co-operative Socially Immature Introverts %	9	6	17	68	100	221
(5) Unco-operative Socially Mature Extraverts %	10	6	10	74	100	210
(6) Unco-operative Socially Mature Introverts %	13	9	12	66	100	189
(7) Unco-operative Socially Immature Extraverts %	9	4	6	80	100	193
(8) Unco-operative Socially Immature Introverts %	10	4	13	73	100	186
TOTAL (all types) %	11	7	14	68	100	1571

The typal analysis shows that the relationships between academic performance and Co-operativeness and Social Maturity are additive, so that, for example, boys who were rated as both co-operative and socially mature (Types (1) and (2)) were more likely to have been examination candidates than either the co-operative but socially immature (Types (3) and (4)) or the socially mature but unco-operative (Types (5) and (6)). On the other hand, it can be seen that socially mature boys, whether co-operative or not, are the most likely to have sat four or more "O" Level subjects. Even more interesting is the finding that the Extraversion factor, which in Tables 4.3 (c) seemed to have no significant association with examination candidacy, does have some discriminative power when used in combination within the typal analysis. Except amongst boys who were both co-operative and socially mature (Types (1) and (2)), there seems to have been a small but systematic tendency for extraverts, rather than introverts, to leave at 15 without sitting examinations (cf. Type (3) with Type (4), Type (5) with Type (6) and Type (7) with Type (8)). Moreover, even *within* the co-operative and socially mature sub-sample, the introverts were distinctly more likely than the extraverts to have sat four or more "O" Level subjects.

In general, therefore, it may be claimed that the typological approach gives a more detailed and penetrating account of the relationship between school behaviour and school-leaving/examination candidacy than do the simpler analyses presented in Table 4.3. In the next section we shall show that it can be used to point up some further interesting relationships between behaviour, ability and achievement at school.

4.4 Relationships between behavioural traits, academic potential and level of academic achievement

So far we have discussed the relationship of behavioural trait scores to *objective* academic characteristics of the sample boys, such as the type of school attended and the level of examinations sat. As was shown in Chapter II of the Report, the latter is a crude and rather insensitive measure of academic performance when compared with the teachers' rating of academic potential. The latter provides our best available estimate of the boy's *personal examination-passing ability* since, in theory, it is independent of the institutional and other non-intellectual factors which play a large part in determining for which examinations, if any, a boy shall be entered.

Table 4.5 shows the distributions of Teacher's Academic Rating scores within behavioural types. It can be seen that the general pattern of results broadly resembles that found in Table 4.4, but is more sharply differentiated and shows a wider range of variation. Thus, for example, Type (2) (co-operative, socially mature introverts) contains 51% of boys rated capable of passing at least one subject at "O" Level (or CSE Grade 1), whereas Type (8) (unco-operative, socially immature introverts) contains only 12%. Once again it is obvious that both Co-operativeness and Social Maturity are positively associated with high academic rating scores. A comparison of Types (3) and (4), on the one hand, with Types (5) and (6), on the other, shows that Social Maturity is the more powerful predictor of rated potential, since unco-operative but mature boys score considerably higher than co-operative but immature boys. The behaviour of the Extraversion dimension is interesting, as in Table 4.4. Amongst boys who are rated as co-operative (i.e. those in Types (1)-(4)), introverts are rated rather higher than extraverts on academic ability; amongst boys rated as unco-operative, on the other hand (i.e. Types (5)-(8)), introverts are rated rather lower than extraverts. Taken across the whole sample, these two "interaction" effects cancel out, so that there is no *overall* relationship between Extraversion and rated academic potential. This explains why it is the co-operative, socially mature *introverts* who were rated as the most

Table 4.5 Distributions of Teacher's Academic Rating scores within behavioural types

TYPE DEFINITION	RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING -					
	At least 4 subjects at GCE	1-3 subjects at GCE	At least 1 subject at CSE	Less able	Total	Base (rewtd)
(1) Co-op. Soc. Mature Extr. %	17	23	46	14	100	209
(2) Co-op. Soc. Mature Intr. %	27	24	40	9	100	185
(3) Co-op. Soc. Immature Extr. %	4	16	38	42	100	179
(4) Co-op. Soc. Immature Intr. %	6	15	41	38	100	221
(5) Unco-op. Soc. Mature Extr. %	9	17	53	21	100	210
(6) Unco-op. Soc. Mature Intr. %	9	18	48	24	100	189
(7) Unco-op. Soc. Immature Extr. %	3	10	40	47	100	193
(8) Unco-op. Soc. Immature Intr. %	3	9	34	53	100	186
TOTAL (all types) %	10	17	43	31	100	1571

able and the unco-operative, socially immature introverts (not the unco-operative, socially immature extraverts) as the least able of all.

We may attempt to interpret this somewhat complex set of statistical inter-relationships in more straightforward conceptual terms as follows. The behavioural trait which is most strongly and systematically associated with rated academic potential is Social Maturity. It may be that what this factor score really taps is a more general dimension of "all-round competence", which has both social and intellectual aspects or components. Co-operativeness is also positively associated with academic potential, but the fact that the relationship is considerably weaker than that between Social Maturity and academic potential is in keeping with our interpretation of the Co-operativeness score as measuring a dimension of social and moral, rather than purely intellectual or academic, evaluation. In other words, the boy rated high on Co-operativeness is seen by his teacher as "nice", rather than "clever", as such. The combination of co-operativeness and introversion is perhaps the teachers' implicit definition of "studiousness", which would explain why boys with these two characteristics are rated high on academic potential. On the other hand, the combination of uncooperativeness and introversion may be seen by teachers as "sullen unresponsiveness" and regarded as a syndrome particularly unfavourable to academic success.

This type of ad hoc interpretation is, of course, speculative and must be judged in the light of other results bearing on the behavioural trait scores which will be presented later in the report. However, the existence of these complex but orderly interrelationships makes it clear that, at the implicit level tapped by the factor variables, the teachers were capable of making some quite subtle distinctions in passing judgements of various kinds upon their pupils.

We have so far reviewed the relationships between behavioural traits and examination candidacy and between behavioural traits and rated academic potential. However, as was pointed out in Chapter II above, the interaction between examination candidacy and academic potential yields a further variable of some interest, namely, whether the boy's examination entries understated, overstated or were congruent with his rated potential. It is therefore worth asking whether there is any significant relationship between this variable and the behavioural traits which we have been considering.

It has already been shown (Table 4.5) that academic potential is itself strongly associated with behavioural traits. Accordingly, in examining the relationship between behavioural traits and fulfilment/non-fulfilment of potential it is necessary to hold the level of rated academic potential constant, in order to eliminate confounding effects. In other words, given that a certain syndrome of behavioural traits is associated with higher or lower academic ability, we need to ask whether, over and above this prior relationship, it is also associated with fulfilment/non-fulfilment of potential. The required analysis is presented, for two levels of rated academic potential, in Tables 4.6 (a) and (b).

For the purposes of Table 4.6, the relationship between the boys' rated academic potential and the level of examinations which they were sitting has been reduced to three categories, namely: (1) cases where the boy was judged capable by his teacher of passing more or higher examinations than those which he was actually sitting (labelled "Examinations sat understate potential"); (2) cases where the examinations sat were roughly congruent with rated potential; (3) cases where the boy was (implicitly) judged by his teacher to be incapable of passing examinations for which he had actually been entered (labelled "Examinations sat overstate potential").

Distributions of the "fulfilment of potential" variable are given for each of the eight behavioural types previously distinguished and also, by way of a simplified summary, for all boys who scored above the mean on the Co-operativeness, Social Maturity and Extraversion factors respectively. These summary distributions may be regarded as reliable even in the case of Table 4.6 (b), where the number of cases falling into the three-dimensional types is small (though the weighted bases given slightly understate the actual number of cases upon which the figures are based). Let us therefore begin by considering the summary distributions.

In both tables there is a small but significant tendency for boys scoring

Table 4.6 Relationship between behavioural traits and fulfilment of academic potential, with level of academic potential held constant

(a) Boys rated capable of passing subject(s) at CSE below Grade 1 only

	EXAMINATIONS SAT -				
TYPE DEFINITION	understate potential	are congruent with potential	overstate potential	Total	Base (rewtd)
(1) Co-operative Socially Mature Extraverts %	70	23	7	100	96
(2) Co-operative Socially Mature Introverts %	74	22	4	100	73
(3) Co-operative Socially Immature Extraverts %	72	22	6	100	68
(4) Co-operative Socially Immature Introverts %	69	26	5	100	91
(5) Unco-operative Socially Mature Extraverts %	83	12	5	100	112
(6) Unco-operative Socially Mature Introverts %	75	18	7	100	91
(7) Unco-operative Socially Immature Extraverts %	81	12	7	100	77
(8) Unco-operative Socially Immature Introverts %	57	28	14	100	63
All Co-operative boys %	71	24	6	100	328
All Socially Mature boys %	76	19	6	100	372
All Extraverted boys %	77	17	6	100	352
TOTAL %	73	20	7	100	670

above the mean on Social Maturity to be early leavers and thus underperformers in terms of their rated potential. There is a similar tendency in the case of boys scoring above the mean on Extraversion. On the other hand, boys scoring high on Co-operativeness tend to fall into the "congruent" category in both tables, while all three high-scoring groups contain a

Table 4.6 continued

Relationship between behavioural traits and fulfilment of academic potential, with level of academic potential held constant

(b) Boys rated capable of passing 1-3 subjects at GCE "O" Level/CSE Grade 1 only

		EXAMINATIONS SAT -				
TYPE DEFINITION		understate potential	are congruent with potential	overstate potential	Total	Base (rewtd)
(1) Co-operative Socially Mature Extraverts	%	19	64	18	100	48
(2) Co-operative Socially Mature Introverts	%	37	38	25	100	45
(3) Co-operative Socially Immature Extraverts	%	27	48	26	100	29
(4) Co-operative Socially Immature Introverts	%	12	61	27	100	33
(5) Unco-operative Socially Mature Extraverts	%	49	34	16	100	35
(6) Unco-operative Socially Mature Introverts	%	26	48	26	100	34
(7) Unco-operative Socially Immature Extraverts	%	5	37	58	100	19
(8) Unco-operative Socially Immature Introverts	%	9	34	57	100	17
All Co-operative boys	%	24	53	23	100	154
All Socially Mature boys	%	32	47	21	100	162
All Extraverted boys	%	27	48	25	100	131
TOTAL	%	25	47	28	100	260

smaller-than-average proportion of boys entered for examinations judged to be beyond their capacity.

Turning now to the distributions within behavioural types, we find that in both tables Type (5) contains the highest proportion of boys who, by leaving at 15, had failed to fulfil their academic potential and the lowest proportion of boys sitting examination beyond their capacities. Apart from this, the detailed patterns of results in the two tables diverge considerably, largely, no doubt, because of the large sampling errors implied by the low bases for percentages in Table 4.6 (b). However, the regularity of the summary results already discussed shows that a basically similar pattern of trends underlies these random divergencies.

Some interesting conclusions may be drawn from these results. It seems that the trait measured by the Social Maturity score plays an important but paradoxical role in relation to the boys' academic potential and performance. While Social Maturity is the trait most closely associated with relatively high academic potential and ability (see Table 4.5), it is also significantly related to premature school-leaving on the part of boys having the potential to pass CSE and/or GCE examinations. This finding suggests the existence of a mechanism, inherent in the interaction between individual traits and our present system of secondary education, which tends to thwart the implicit aim of many teachers and educationalists, namely, to ensure that each child sits examinations up to the limits of his intellectual capacity.

More specifically, the results indicate that wastage of academic potential is particularly common amongst a group of boys characterized as "uncooperative, socially mature extraverts". On reflection, this seems to be consistent with our interpretation of the factors upon which behavioural trait scores were based. The boy who is socially mature for his age, outward-going and gregarious (i.e. extraverted) and to some extent at odds with his teachers might indeed be expected to feel the pull of the "grown-up" world beyond school (or, more specifically, of the socially-emancipated, anti-authoritarian adolescent sub-culture) particularly strongly, and thus to be tempted to leave school at the earliest opportunity. Some further evidence bearing on this interpretation will be presented in Section 4.5 below.

4.5 The boys' attitudes to school

The hypothesis which underlies our analysis of behavioural traits is that ratings of boys' behaviour at school may yield measures which have some value in predicting behaviour in, and adjustment to, the employment situation. On similar grounds the hypothesis may be advanced that the boys' own attitudes to school in general, and to the "authoritarian" aspects of classroom instruction in particular, may serve to predict their success in adjusting to the "learner" role at work. As before, it must be emphasized that this *is* a hypothesis, not an assumption. It is entirely possible that, in practice and for most boys, the differences between the school and work situations completely outweigh the similarities, or that the boys' basic attitudes and reactions change once they have left school. If so, conclusions to that effect should emerge from the analysis.

Two main measures, one direct and one indirect, were used in assessing the boys' attitudes to school. The direct measure was an attitude scale based upon responses to a set of questions (Q.7-9) on the Boys' Interview

Schedule. The following responses contributed to a scale score measuring the degree of favourableness of the boy's attitude towards secondary school:

> Boy felt that being in school during the past year had done him "a lot of good".
>
> Boy felt that during the past year he had been "happy most of the time" at school.
>
> Boy "never" or "hardly ever" felt he would be "glad to get away from school".
>
> Boy never felt "bored with school because it's always the same, day after day".
>
> Boy never felt "fed up with the teachers telling me what I can and can't do".

For scaling purposes each of the above responses was scored 1 and all other responses to the questions concerned (i.e. the relatively "unfavourable" responses) were scored 0. Thus scores on the final scale ranged from 5, indicating a very favourable attitude to school, to 0, indicating a very unfavourable attitude. The dimension measured by the scale appears to be a broad evaluation by the boy of his school experiences as "pleasant" versus "unpleasant" and it can be shown to be moderately reliable in assigning boys to "pro-" and "anti-school" categories.

As an indirect index of attitude towards school we took the answer to the question, "So far as is known, does this boy ever play truant from school?", which was included in the Teacher's Assessment Form. The teachers who completed the forms felt able to give a "Yes" or "No" answer to this question in the vast majority of cases but, as might have been expected, the known truants comprised only a rather small proportion (18%) of the total sample. It should also be borne in mind that truancy may be a function of factors (e.g. in the boy's home background) other than attitude to school *per se* and that the teachers' opinions may not be a completely reliable index of its prevalence. On the other hand it can be argued that truancy is a form of behaviour which is characteristic of boys who, for one reason or another, are unhappy or frustrated in school.

Table 4.7 Relationship between Attitude to School and Truancy

		Attitude to School							
		Unfavourable			Favourable			Total	Base (rewtd)
Teachers' Truancy Report		0	1	2	3	4	5		
Known to play truant	%	18	23	27	21	7	4	100	293
Not known to play truant	%	7	18	24	23	19	9	100	1286
TOTAL	%	8	17	23	25	19	9	100	1578

Table 4.7 shows that there is a clear, though not an overwhelming, relationship between the Attitude to School scale and truancy. This seems to confirm that the two measures agree to a significant extent in picking out particular types of boy, but that there are also some differences in the underlying characteristics which they represent.

Table 4.8 Relationship between Attitude to School and school type

"Attitude to School"	Scale Score	Grammar and technical schools	Comprehensive schools	Secondary modern schools	Total
		%	%	%	%
Unfavourable	0 - 1	40	34	24	28
Average	2 - 3	43	50	48	48
Favourable	4 - 5	17	16	28	24
TOTAL		100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)		166	354	1055	1574

Table 4.8 gives a comparison of the distributions of scores on the Attitude to School scale amongst leavers from different types of secondary school. In order to make the table easier to scan, the scale scores have been condensed into three categories from the original six.

It is evident from inspection of Table 4.8 that leavers from secondary modern schools showed, on average, the most favourable attitudes to school and leavers from grammar and technical schools the least favourable, with leavers from comprehensive schools occupying an intermediate position. At first sight this finding might appear paradoxical, in that secondary modern school boys are usually thought of as less well-adjusted to the academic environment than grammar school boys. The explanation almost certainly lies in the fact, already pointed out, that our sample of grammar school leavers and, to some extent, our sample of comprehensive leavers, represents early leavers from these types of school, rather than the "average" pupil. It is not surprising that these early leavers are less favourably-disposed to school than boys who elect to stay on.

We would expect to find some degree of positive relationship between the favourableness of a boy's attitude towards school and his teacher's rating of his academic potential. This hypothesis is supported by Tables 4.9 (a)-(c). The analysis has been carried out within school type and, as often happens with the present sample, the picture is clearest in the case of leavers from secondary modern schools (Table (c)), where the confounding effects of the exclusion of sixth-form entrants from the sample are at a minimum. Here there is a clear positive relationship, with the highly-rated boys tending to show a favourable attitude and the less highly-rated a less favourable attitude to school. The same trend is detectable, though much less clear-cut, in the case of leavers from grammar, technical and

Table 4.9 Relationship of Attitude to School to Teacher's Academic Rating within school type

(a) Leavers from grammar and technical schools

ATTITUDE TO SCHOOL		JUDGED CAPABLE OF PASSING – At least 4 "O" Level subjects	1–3 "O" Level subjects	Less capable	Total
	Scale Score	%	%	%	%
Unfavourable	0 – 1	36	44	38	40
Average	2 – 3	42	43	45	43
Favourable	4 – 5	23	13	16	17
TOTAL		100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)		55	64	44	166

(b) Leavers from comprehensive schools

ATTITUDE TO SCHOOL		JUDGED CAPABLE OF PASSING – At least 1 "O" Level subject	At least 3 CSE subjects	Less capable	Total
	Scale Score	%	%	%	%
Unfavourable	0 – 1	32	21	40	34
Average	2 – 3	46	63	47	48
Favourable	4 – 5	22	15	13	16
TOTAL		100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)		93	81	179	354

(c) Leavers from secondary modern schools

	Scale Score	%	%	%	%
Unfavourable	0 – 1	10	25	28	24
Average	2 – 3	46	44	49	48
Favourable	4 – 5	44	31	23	28
TOTAL		100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)		199	221	636	1055

comprehensive schools. It should be noted that, in the case of grammar/ technical schools, the Academic Rating scale has been condensed into categories slightly different from those used in the case of secondary modern and comprehensive schools. This was done in order to obtain a more even distribution of scores on the condensed variable.

If we assume that Table 4.9 (c) gives an approximation to the true relationship between Attitude to School and Academic Rating for secondary schoolboys in general, we may conclude that the two variables are significantly, but by no means overwhelmingly, associated. Such a conclusion would agree with casual observation, which suggests that, whereas the better scholars tend to like and the worst scholars to dislike school, there are nevertheless numbers of pupils who are bright but unhappy at school and others who are cheerful and contented though academically undistinguished.

A parallel argument might be expected to apply to our indirect indicator of attitude to school, namely, whether or not the boy is known to play truant. Tables 4.10 (a)-(c) show that the relationship with Academic Rating is, in fact, clear for leavers from every type of secondary school. Although the overall prevalence of truancy does not vary as much between school types as does the attitude score already discussed, it is noticeable that it is the lowest-rated boys at grammar, technical and comprehensive schools who have by far the worst truancy record and the highest-rated boys at secondary modern schools whose record is the best.

These results are in line with our interpretation of truancy as an index of anti-school feelings, though other interpretations of the observed relationship are also possible. In particular, it should be borne in mind that the same teacher was in each case responsible for providing both the Academic Rating and the Truancy Report. It is therefore possible that some of the association between the two indices is due to prejudices or assumptions (e.g. that poor scholars are likely to be truants) on the part of the teachers, rather than to the boys' objective behavioural characteristics. However, it seems most unlikely that the strong association observed in Tables 4.10 could be entirely accounted for in this way.

The fact that there is a relationship between the boys' attitudes to school and their teachers' opinion of their academic potential suggests that there should also be a correspondence between attitudes to school and teachers' ratings of the boys' behaviour in the school environment. More specifically, we would expect to find that boys who like school are rated as "co-operative" by their teachers and boys who dislike school as "unco-operative". Table 4.11 shows that this hypothesis is supported.

It can be seen that there is a clear relationship between scores on the "Co-operativeness" factor (derived from the teachers' behavioural ratings) and scores on the "Attitude to School" scale. Of course, not all boys who dislike school are overtly unco-operative, nor are boys who like school in general always particularly co-operative towards teachers. Hence we would not expect to find a perfect association between the two variables, even when the effects of measurement error are allowed for.

Table 4.12 shows, as might have been expected, that there is a very strong relationship between the teacher's truancy report and his rating of the boy concerned on "Co-operativeness". There may be some spurious component in this association, in so far as teachers, rather than dealing with each

Table 4.10 Relationship of Teacher's Truancy Report to Teacher's Academic Rating within school type

(a) Leavers from grammar and technical schools

	JUDGED CAPABLE OF PASSING –			
Teacher's Truancy Report	At least 4 "O" Level subjects	1–3 "O" Level subjects	Less capable	Total
	%	%	%	%
Known to play truant	9	15	38	19
Not known to play truant	91	85	62	81
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	56	63	44	164

(b) Leavers from comprehensive schools

	JUDGED CAPABLE OF PASSING –			
Teacher's Truancy Report	At least 1 "O" Level subject	At least 3 CSE subjects	Less capable	Total
	%	%	%	%
Known to play truant	11	22	34	25
Not known to play truant	89	78	66	75
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	93	80	180	352

(c) Leavers from secondary modern schools

Teacher's Truancy Report	%	%	%	%
Known to play truant	4	8	23	16
Not known to play truant	96	92	77	84
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	199	219	621	1039

Table 4.11 Relationship between the boy's attitude to school and his teacher's rating of him on "Co-operativeness"

"CO-OPERATIVENESS" SCORE		SCORES ON "ATTITUDE TO SCHOOL" SCALE Unfavourable 0-1	Average 2-3	Favourable 4-5	Total	Base (rewtd)
1 or more s.d. above mean	%	17	47	35	100	293
Less than 1 s.d. above mean	%	21	48	31	100	512
Less than 1 s.d. below mean	%	32	49	19	100	515
1 or more s.d. below mean	%	43	45	10	100	278
TOTAL	%	28	48	25	100	1598

Table 4.12 Relationship between teachers' truancy reports and their ratings of the boys on "Co-operativeness"

"CO-OPERATIVENESS" SCORE		WHETHER KNOWN TO HAVE PLAYED TRUANT Yes	No	Not known	Total	Base (rewtd)
1 or more s.d. above mean	%	2	98	*	100	291
Less than 1 s.d. above mean	%	7	93	0	100	505
Less than 1 s.d. below mean	%	21	79	*	100	510
1 or more s.d. below mean	%	52	47	1	100	274
TOTAL	%	18	81	*	100	1580

aspect of the boy's behaviour on its merits, felt it inconsistent to rate truants as (otherwise) co-operative. However, it seems unlikely that this "halo" effect was more than marginal and it is reasonable to conclude that truancy was characteristic of boys whose classroom behaviour was also "unco-operative".

4.6 The boys' leisure behaviour and affiliations

Our discussion of the personal characteristics of the boys in our sample has so far been concerned exclusively with the home and the school. The lives of younger children are very largely dominated by these two environments and by the interactions between them, but this is not necessarily true of the stage of adolescence, which had been reached by most, if not all, of the boys in our sample. In fact, one of the classic behavioural symptoms of adolescence in our culture is that the young person begins to experiment with social roles which involve increased independence of home and school authority and which centre upon social situations outside the family circle or the classroom. Since adolescent leisure habits thus involve an assertion of individual values and preferences, they provide a useful indicator of the individual's general orientation to life at a time when he is beginning to make his own decisions in matters affecting, amongst other things, his employment career.

At Stage I it was possible to devote only a few questions (Q.73-77) on the Boys' Interview Schedule to the topic of leisure behaviour and affiliations. These questions dealt with the boy's own habits, including the ways in which he chose to spend his own money, and with the school-leaving status of his friends. The responses obtained form the basis of the present section.

For the purposes of the enquiry we were mainly interested in broad dimensions of leisure behaviour, rather than in specific details. The answers given to several of the questions referred to above were therefore subjected to a correlational analysis, in order to detect any general underlying patterns. It was found that certain responses formed a distinct cluster or syndrome and these were used to build up a scale, by counting 1 for each of the designated responses given by a particular boy. The responses scored in this way were:

Boy said he spent money "most weeks" on cigarettes.

Boy said he spent money "most weeks" on going to dances.

Boy said he spent money "most weeks" on taking out girl friends.

Boy said he had at least £1, most weeks, that he could do what he liked with.

Boy said he mostly went out (rather than stayed at home) in his spare time.

Since there are 5 possible "positive" responses, scores on the final scale ranged from 0 to 5.

A few words need to be said about the interpretation of scores on this scale. In the first place, the nature of the responses upon which it is based suggests that it is to some extent a measure of social maturation or "grown-upness". The habits and attributes to which the listed responses refer are shared by the majority of young males at some stage in their development, but the syndrome as a whole is more typical of older adolescents than of younger boys at secondary school. Hence a boy making a high score on the scale could be said to be relatively "grown up", compared with his contemporaries.

Now, while "grown-upness" in this sense is obviously not the same thing as calendar age, we would certainly expect the two to be related. Indeed, the value of the scale rests upon its ability to distinguish boys who are more from boys who are less "grown up" for their age. In other words, each boy's scale score should properly be compared with the scores made by other boys of the same calendar age. This is a point of which account has to be taken in our analysis.

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Another point to be borne in mind is that the scale seems to measure one special aspect of "grown-upness", which needs to be distinguished rather sharply from other connotations of the term as normally used. For example, most of the items refer to activities of a more-or-less gregarious, pleasure-seeking nature, rather than to qualities such as responsibility, self-restraint and earnest striving for conventional success which form part of the more puritanical ideal of adult behaviour.

Since high scorers on the scale are individuals who were relatively precocious in terms of leisure behaviour, while low scorers are those who were relatively retarded in that respect, and since the behaviour referred to is predominantly social, it was decided to label the dimension measured by the scale as "Social Precocity".

Table 4.13   Scores on the "Social Precocity" scale analysed by age of boy

		SCORES ON THE "SOCIAL PRECOCITY" SCALE							
AGE AT STAGE I INTERVIEW		Socially retarded			Socially precocious			Total	Base (rewtd)
		0	1	2	3	4	5		
15 years or under	%	17	34	23	14	8	4	100	1197
16 years or over	%	18	24	20	19	14	5	100	532
TOTAL	%	17	31	22	16	10	4	100	1728

The distributions shown in Table 4.13 indicate that there is, as expected, some variation in scores on the "Social Precocity" (SP) scale according to the age of the boy, with older boys scoring slightly higher and younger boys slightly lower. In considering this result it must be remembered that, in the case of the present sample, the two variables "Age at interview" and "Age on leaving school" are empirically identical. In other words, our fifteen year olds are all *boys who elected to leave school at 15*, while our sixteen year olds are all *boys who elected to stay on in school until they were 16*. Now, it is quite possible that early leavers are, on average, more socially precocious *than other boys of their own age*. If this is so, it would tend to "cancel out" differences in scale scores attributable to age, as such, and might explain why the variation with age shown in Table 4.13 is relatively slight. In short, we may be comparing a relatively more precocious group of younger boys with a relatively less precocious group of older boys.

It is unfortunately impossible to test this last hypothesis by reference to the present data, but, even assuming that the age trend is somewhat stronger than it appears in Table 4.13, it seems clear that scores on the SP scale are not a function of age alone. Indeed, we might suspect *a priori* that they also reflect individual differences in personality.

Table 4.14 Distributions of scores on the "Social Precocity" scale analysed by boy's "behavioural type"

		SCORES ON THE "SOCIAL PRECOCITY" SCALE				
TYPE DEFINITION		0	1-2	3-5	Total	Bases (rewtd)
Co-operative Socially Mature Extraverts	%	14	60	26	100	216
Co-operative Socially Mature Introverts	%	23	52	25	100	185
Co-operative Socially Immature Extraverts	%	12	59	29	100	184
Co-operative Socially Immature Introverts	%	29	62	9	100	224
Unco-operative Socially Mature Extraverts	%	9	41	50	100	218
Unco-operative Socially Mature Introverts	%	17	40	43	100	196
Unco-operative Socially Immature Extraverts	%	12	49	38	100	194
Unco-operative Socially Immature Introverts	%	23	53	24	100	186
TOTAL	%	17	52	30	100	1603

The results shown in Table 4.14 amply confirm this last hypothesis. For simplicity of scanning the scale scores have been grouped into three ranges: boys making a score of 0 may be thought of as relatively "socially retarded"; boys making a score of 1 or 2 may be regarded as "average"; while boys making a score of 3-5 may be seen as relatively "socially precocious". It will be seen that the proportion of boys falling into the last category varies from 9% among "co-operative, socially immature introverts" up to 50% among "unco-operative, socially mature extraverts". This result is entirely in line with the prediction which might be made from our interpretation of the teacher's behavioural rating factor scores and provides a rather striking confirmation of that interpretation. It is worth examining the line of reasoning involved here in rather more detail.

On the face of it, our "Co-operativeness" factor score measures the boy's disposition to behave in a way which commends itself to his school teachers. The theoretical inference from this is that boys scoring high on the factor are those who, on the whole, accept the system of values normally enjoined and enforced at school. A central feature of the official "school ideology" is assumed to be the endorsement of hard work and self-discipline as the key to success in life and rejection of hedonism or the taking of "short cuts" to quasi-adult social status. On this basis we would expect to find a negative relationship between scores on the Co-operativeness factor and scores on the SP scale.

On the other hand, if the label "Social Maturity" given to our second factor score is appropriate and has validity beyond the narrowly-defined classroom situation, we would expect to find a positive relationship between this score and the score on the SP scale. Similarly, since high participation in social activities is one of the classic "Extraversion" traits, we would again expect to find a positive correlation between our third factor score and the score on the SP scale.

Close examination of the distributions shown in Table 4.14 shows that each of these hypotheses is supported and that the relationships between the separate behavioural traits and Social Precocity each contribute to the extreme scores of the "unco-operative, socially mature extravert" and "Co-operative, socially immature introvert" groups on the SP scale. Furthermore, the interpretation of the "unco-operative, socially mature extravert" behavioural syndrome to which we are here led coincides exactly with that advanced in Section 4.4 above, to explain why boys of this type tended to leave school prematurely. This demonstration of the theoretical consistency of empirical results provides strong validatory evidence for the measures and the interpretations placed upon them.

Having seen that a strong relationship exists between scores on behavioural traits, as rated by teachers, and scores on the SP scale, it is natural to ask whether there may not be a similar relationship between teachers' academic ratings and scores on the scale. It seems quite plausible to suggest, for example, that boys receiving relatively low academic ratings may tend to be more "socially precocious", either because academic diligence and socially precocious activities are incompatible, or because boys who fail academically may compensate by concentrating their interests and activities elsewhere.

Tables 4.15 show that this hypothesis is not supported. Amongst boys aged 15 or under at the time of interview (Table (a)) there is a very small tendency for the more able boys to score higher on the SP scale. Amongst older leavers it is the boys who were rated capable of passing 1-3 subjects at GCE "O" Level who scored higher than the rest. These minor and somewhat inconsistent variations probably reflect complex inter-relationships between school behaviour, leisure behaviour and academic ability and performance, but it is clear that there is no consistent trend within the present sample for the more precocious boys to be weaker academically. However, it should be noted once again that the present sample excludes boys who elected to stay on into the sixth form. If - as seems quite plausible - there is a tendency for sixth formers to be both academically more able and socially more retarded, the absence of a clear trend in Tables 4.15 might be explained.

A conclusive test of this last possibility is, by definition, impossible to achieve on the basis of the present sample of fourth and fifth year leavers. However, the relationship shown in Table 4.16 suggests that "Social Precocity" may, indeed, be a significant determinant of school-leaving behaviour.

The classification shown on the left of Table 4.16 was derived from answers given to a sequence of questions included in the Boys' Stage I interview schedule. The boys were first asked to name the three boys "they went around with most in their spare time". Rather surprisingly, about one fifth of the sample were unable to name as many as three friends or acquaintances answering this description. It was then determined, for each boy named,

Table 4.15 Distribution of scores on the "Social Precocity" scale analysed by Teacher's Academic Rating

(a) Boys aged 14-15 only

	RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING -			
SCORE ON "SOCIAL PRECOCITY" SCALE	At least 1 subject at GCE	At least 1 subject at CSE	Less able	Total
	%	%	%	%
0 ("Socially retarded")	19	17	17	17
1-2 ("Average")	49	57	57	56
3-5 ("Socially precocious")	31	26	26	27
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Base (reweighted)	121	507	482	1109

(b) Boys aged 16 and over only

	RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING -			
SCORE ON "SOCIAL PRECOCITY" SCALE	At least 4 subjects at GCE	1-3 subjects at GCE	Less able	Total
	%	%	%	%
0 ("Socially retarded")	19	14	21	18
1-2 ("Average")	49	40	42	43
3-5 ("Socially precocious")	32	46	37	39
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Base (reweighted)	118	174	175	467

whether he was still at school or had already left school. In Table 4.16 the sample boys who were able to name three leisure companions are classified according to whether all three, two out of three or fewer than two out of three of the named companions were still at school. The classification as a whole may thus be thought of as providing a rough composite measure of (a) leisure-time gregariousness and (b) the extent to which the sample boy's social "centre of gravity" lay with a group who had already left school.

It can be seen from the table that this composite measure seems to function as a single dimension, in relation to the SP scale, and that the two measures are significantly related. That is to say, "socially precocious" boys not only tend to have more leisure companions than the "socially retarded", but also to select these companions significantly more from amongst a group of boys who had already left school, rather than from amongst schoolmates. We may therefore surmise that the "socially precocious"

Table 4.16 Relationship between scores on the "Social Precocity" scale and number and school-leaving status of leisure companions

NUMBER AND SCHOOL-LEAVING STATUS OF LEISURE COMPANIONS	SCORE ON "SOCIAL PRECOCITY" SCALE 0	1-2	3-5	Total
	%	%	%	%
Boy could not name 3 boys with whom he went around in his spare time	32	20	10	19
All 3 of named boys still at school	36	37	28	34
2 out of 3 named boys still at school	17	22	25	22
2 or all 3 named boys had left school	15	20	37	24
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Base (reweighted)	300	908	518	1727

boy feels a greater social pull towards early school-leaving than does his "socially retarded" classmate.

The general argument upon which the cross-validation of our various measures depends may be carried one stage further. We have already seen that "socially precocious" boys have lower-than-average scores on Co-operativeness with teachers and that they may well be under greater social pressure to leave school than their more retarded contemporaries. We might therefore expect to find a negative relationship between the SP and the Attitude to School scale scores. Table 4.17 shows that there is, indeed, such a relationship, but only a slight one. This seems to mean that the "socially precocious" boy is motivated more by the positive attractions of participation in the social life of those who have left school, than by any very virulent dislike of school itself. On the other hand, he is unlikely to be a very enthusiastic upholder of school values and it is no doubt this indifference which causes him to be rated rather low on Co-operativeness (Table 4.14).

Table 4.17 Relationship between "Social Precocity" and Attitude to School

SCORE ON "ATTITUDE TO SCHOOL" SCALE		SCORE ON "SOCIAL PRECOCITY" SCALE 0	1-2	3-5	Total
		%	%	%	%
"Unfavourable"	0-1	26	25	33	27
"Average"	2-3	46	48	45	48
"Favourable"	4-5	28	27	21	25
TOTAL		100	100	100	100
Base (reweighted)		300	908	518	1727

4.7 The Careers Officers' ratings: source and methodology

The data which have so far been analysed have all been derived either from the boys' own responses to interview questions, or from the assessments of individual boys which were completed by teachers. At this point, however, we need to introduce a further data source, namely, the assessments of sample boys which we obtained from Careers Officers with whom they had had one or more youth employment interviews.

The general method by which Youth Employment Assessments were obtained was outlined in Section 1.4 above. The information gathered falls into two main categories, namely, ratings of the boys' personal employment characteristics and details of employment recommendations or suggestions made in the course of the youth employment interview. Since information in the first category relates to "the boys as persons", it is dealt with in this chapter; information in the second category relates more to the actual processes of vocational choice and job-seeking and is therefore covered separately in Chapter X.

In designing scales for completion by Careers Officers, we were constrained by a number of factors. In the first place, the Careers Officer had in many cases conducted only one, rather short, personal interview with the boy, and that several months before our assessment forms were completed. We therefore felt that it would be too much to ask Officers to rate boys from memory on an unfamiliar set of scales. Secondly, since there were cases where one Officer would have to complete a large number of assessments, we were anxious to keep the number of scales used and the difficulty of handling them at a minimum.

Fortunately, most Careers Officers make a practice of rating the boys whom they interview, using a set of scales specially designed for careers assessment purposes. There are usually about fifteen scales in the set, each allowing for five rating categories. The traits covered fall into four broad areas, namely, physical make-up, general intelligence, aptitudes and disposition.

Since Careers Officers' records relating to sample boys were likely to contain ratings of this kind, made at the time of the youth employment interview, the difficulties inherent in asking Officers to rate from memory or to use unfamiliar scales could be avoided. Furthermore, the fact that certain scales were used for assessment purposes by members of the Youth Employment Service suggested that it might be useful to study the way in which they worked, even if they were not precisely the scales which we ourselves might have developed for the purposes of the present enquiry.

Because it was necessary to keep the amount of time and effort required for the completion of ratings at a minimum, we decided to include in our assessment form only those rating scales which seemed to be of central relevance to the study, to be conceptually distinct and to be easily and unambiguously interpretable. Seven scales were selected on this basis. In each case the characteristic to be rated was presented verbally to the Careers Officer by the interviewer, together with a short explicatory sentence in question form thus:

Appearance. Does he make a good impression at first sight, or is his appearance against him?

General Intelligence. From his school record and from the impression he made at the Y.E. interview, does he seem to be a bright boy or rather slow and stupid?

Mathematical Ability. Is he good at handling figures, or not?

Verbal Ability. Can he express himself clearly and fluently when speaking, or is he inarticulate and poor at communicating?

Practical Ability. Is he good at doing things with his hands, or not?

Maturity. Does he strike one as a mature person for his age, or is he childish and immature?

Confidence. Is he confident and forthcoming or shy and hesitant?

In each case the Careers Officer responded by giving a rating on the scale ABCDE, with A counting as a favourable and E as an unfavourable rating on the trait concerned. There was only a small proportion of cases where the Officer felt unable to give a definite rating. This was true even of the "Maturity" and "Confidence" scales which, while falling within the broad area of "Disposition", did not correspond directly to specific scales as used by the majority of Officers.

4.8 The Careers Officers' ratings: analysis and interpretation

In considering analyses based upon the rating scores thus obtained from Careers Officers, it must always be remembered that these ratings were originally made, not with the idea of contributing to a study of this kind, but rather as a practical aid to the Officer concerned and his colleagues in providing the individual ratee with vocational help and guidance. The scores were intended for use within the context of the boy's employment record as a whole and not in isolation as a self-contained profile. It should also be borne in mind that we are working with only a selection of the scales actually used by most Officers and that several of the scales are not in precisely their original form.

With these points in mind, let us first examine the relationships between scores assigned to particular individuals on the seven scales (referred to in what follows as the CO scales, so as to distinguish them from the various rating scales completed by teachers). It is necessary to check these interrelationships in order to determine to what extent ratings on different CO scales are empirically independent of one another. The analysis should also enable us to test the assumption that the "intellectual" group of traits (e.g. General Intelligence) are, in practice, seen as distinct from the "dispositional" group (e.g. Maturity).

The most concise method of analysing and representing this pattern of interrelationships is in terms of a matrix of product-moment correlation coefficients, as shown in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18 Correlation coefficients between Careers Officer Rating scores

General Intelligence	x						
Mathematical Ability	.74	x					
Verbal Ability	.62	.53	x				
Practical Ability	.47	.45	.36	x			
Maturity	.55	.44	.56	.41	x		
Confidence	.46	.27	.59	.22	.73	x	
Appearance	.49	.44	.65	.38	.50	.44	x

The most immediately striking feature of this matrix is that all the coefficients which it contains have substantial positive values. Superimposed upon this underlying "plateau" of positive intercorrelation there is, it is true, a distinct pattern of variation in the values of coefficients, but this provides little empirical support for the idea that the ratings fall into distinct groups. It might, indeed, be claimed that "intellect" and "disposition", as distinct aspects of the individual, are represented by the particularly high correlations between General Intelligence and Mathematical Ability, in the one case, and between Maturity and Confidence, in the other. However, taking the matrix as a whole, it seems that a great deal of the observed intercorrelation may be accounted for in terms of a single, underlying "general factor" to which the individual scales are more or less closely related.

The existence of such a "general factor" tends to undermine the idea that Careers Officers perceived different traits or groups of traits as independent of one another. For example, the three traits which appear to lie closest to the general factor are General Intelligence, Verbal Ability and Maturity - that is, two "intellectual" and one "dispositional" trait. The three scales concerned are highly correlated both with each other and with most of the other scales. Mathematical Ability and Practical Ability, as might be expected, seem to relate to more specific traits, though both (and especially the former) are linked to General Intelligence. Confidence is closely linked to Maturity and Verbal Ability and only relatively less closely to General Intelligence. Appearance, which might at first sight be considered a physical attribute, proves to be highly correlated with Verbal Ability and linked also to the other two "general factor" traits (i.e. General Intelligence and Maturity). This is probably because "appearance", in this context, is taken to refer more to such things as dress, manner and personal neatness and cleanliness - all of which are reflections of background and disposition - rather than to physical make-up in the more literal sense.

We are now in a position to consider the problem of validating the CO ratings. Ideally, of course, it would be preferable to use for this purpose suitable criteria relating to the boys' subsequent progress in employment. Unfortunately, however, we are not yet able to bring data of this kind to bear and must therefore have recourse to other measures, obtained at Stage I, which appear to relate to traits similar to those measured by the CO ratings. Our choice here is very limited, since our only other objective assessments of such traits are those provided by the teachers' ratings (referred to in what follows as T ratings). Even here there is little direct correspondence between individual T and CO scales in terms of their overt verbal content, though there would appear to be a reasonably close conceptual relationship between the CO scales measuring "intellectual" traits and the T rating of Academic Potential, and between the CO Maturity scale and the T Social Maturity factor score.

However, results presented earlier in this section suggest that it would in any case be unrealistic to approach the problem of validation in terms of superficial verbal correspondences between scales. It was therefore thought best to carry out a preliminary validatory analysis in which all four T variables (viz. Academic Potential and three behavioural trait scores) were used to test all seven CO rating variables. The overall pattern of interrelationships was then examined.

The analysis showed that there was a strong set of associations between three of the T ratings (Academic Potential, Social Maturity and Co-operativeness) and all seven CO ratings, but that the latter were virtually unrelated to the T Extraversion dimension (except in one case to be discussed below). In order to exhibit the nature of these relationships in the most concise way possible, a composite measure, based on T rating scores, has been constructed in such a way as to show both independent and joint associations between T Academic Potential, Social Maturity and Co-operativeness and the CO scale scores, as in Table 4.19.

Each row of entries in Table 4.19 gives proportions of boys within each of the teacher rating "types" distinguished, who received a relatively high or favourable score from a Careers Officer on the trait specified. In the case of CO Mathematical Ability, a high score has been defined as one within the range A-C (since scores on this scale were skewed in a low or unfavourable direction). For all other CO scales a high score has been defined as an A or B rating. Only boys who received a definite rating score from both teacher and Careers Officer have been included in the analysis.

The outstanding feature of Table 4.19 is that each row of entries shows the same overall pattern. High scores on the CO rating scales are in every case associated with high ratings on Academic Potential, Social Maturity and Co-operativeness. Furthermore, the association between any CO rating score and any one of the teacher rating variables holds good even when the other two teacher rating variables are held constant. This important finding may readily be illustrated by reference to the top row of percentages (proportions receiving a high CO rating on General Intelligence). The overall degree of discrimination, in terms of CO rating scores, achieved by our composite teacher rating typology is in every case substantial, but is particularly striking in the cases of CO General Intelligence and Mathematical Ability. Of the teacher rating variables, the most powerful discriminant is Academic Potential, followed by Social Maturity and then by Co-operativeness.

What conclusions are we to draw from this notably consistent set of relationships? In the first place, it seems clear that the teacher rating variables are related, not so much to specific traits measured by the CO ratings individually, but rather to the general factor which they have in common. Only on this assumption can we explain why CO scales which ostensibly refer

Table 4.19 Relationships between 7 Careers Officer's Rating Scores and teachers' ratings of Academic Potential, Social Maturity and Co-operativeness Table 4.19

	TEACHER'S RATINGS OF ACADEMIC POTENTIAL, SOCIAL MATURITY AND CO-OPERATIVENESS												
RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING	AT LEAST 1 SUBJECT AT GCE "O" LEVEL				AT LEAST 3 SUBJECT AT CSE BELOW GRADE 1				LESS THAN 3 SUBJECTS AT CSE BELOW GRADE 1				
SOCIAL MATURITY SCORE	HIGH	HIGH	LOW	LOW	HIGH	HIGH	LOW	LOW	HIGH	HIGH	LOW	LOW	
CO-OPERATIVENESS SCORE	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	TOTAL
TRAIT DEFINITION AND CAREERS OFFICER'S RATING	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
General Intelligence (A-B)	64	52	38	44	37	34	21	13	17	11	10	4	24
Mathematical Ability (A-C)	92	90	86	77	80	82	76	67	52	47	33	27	59
Verbal Ability (A-B)	54	50	37	37	37	40	38	16	21	14	14	9	26
Practical Ability (A-B)	56	44	49	40	51	49	43	34	44	32	19	17	36
Maturity (A-B)	58	43	34	36	40	28	19	11	24	16	14	10	25
Confidence (A-B)	50	47	36	33	40	42	38	17	33	21	16	19	30
Appearance (A-B)	64	52	53	37	55	52	47	44	39	30	35	22	41
Total (all receiving a definite rating score)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Minimum base for percentages (reweighted)	146	78	62	36	101	94	53	45	104	173	247	244	1407

to quite different traits (e.g. Appearance and Mathematical Ability) nevertheless relate in the same general way to the criterion variables. If our prior interpretation of the three teacher rating variables is correct, the CO general factor may perhaps be identified as the Careers Officer's impression of the boy's all-round level of social and intellectual competence. Whilst teachers and Careers Officers thus showed a considerable measure of agreement in their general evaluative impressions of the boys, the teachers, partly, no doubt because of their greater personal knowledge of the boys and partly because they were using a set of scales specially designed to secure maximum discrimination between traits, were more successful in analysing their perceptions into separate dimensions.

Two further points need to be made before we leave this topic. Our analysis, while demonstrating the degree of general agreement between teachers' and Careers Officers' views of the boys, does nothing to explain whether this is primarily a case of similar judgements independently arrived at, or of communication and interpersonal influence between the two judges. Consultation between Careers Officer and teacher is, of course, an essential feature of any integrated careers guidance service for school-leavers and the main complaint of Careers Officers is that they are often insufficiently briefed by the school before interviewing leavers. We have evidence that the Careers Officers had received formal school reports in the case of the majority of leavers in our sample, but we do not know to what extent informal consultation with teachers also took place. Careers Officers' ratings of, for example, Mathematical or Practical Ability may well have been considerably influenced by the expressed opinion of a teacher (though not necessarily the same teacher who completed our assessments). On the other hand, the Careers Officers presumably relied entirely on their own judgement in rating Appearance. It is interesting and, perhaps, suggestive, that CO ratings of Appearance were almost as heavily loaded with the "general factor" - which, in turn, is linked to teacher rating scores - as were their ratings of traits such as General Intelligence or Mathematical Ability.

Finally, it must be remembered that the general factor underlying the CO ratings, though powerful and pervasive in its effects upon the scores assigned, by no means accounts for all the variance shown by scores on the separate scales. If we had to hand specific independent criteria of mathematical, verbal and practical ability, for example, it might well turn out that the corresponding CO ratings had some specific validity as measures of these traits, as well as of the general factor of "all-round competence". The validation analysis which has been described is thus only partial and incomplete.

4.9 Summary

1. In Chapter IV data gathered from the boys themselves, from teachers who knew them well and from Careers Officers who had interviewed them are analysed with a view to producing measures of certain personal traits and attitudes. The main areas covered are the boys' general behaviour in and attitude towards secondary school, their leisure behaviour and affiliations and their personal attributes as seen by Careers Officers. The responses analysed contained no direct references to careers or employment, but it was thought that the traits etc. measured might

influence the boys' behaviour and reactions during the course of their transition from school to work and their adjustment to employment. Direct measures of attitudes to employment, as such, are introduced and discussed in Chapter V.

2. Teachers who knew the sample boys well were asked to rate their school behaviour on a set of 17 scales and to say whether or not they had ever been known to play truant from school. The rating scores were factor analysed and three scores, based on orthogonal (i.e. uncorrelated) factors were calculated. These were interpreted as measuring Co-operativeness with teachers, Social Maturity and Extraversion respectively.

3. Behavioural trait factor scores were found to be fairly evenly distributed as between leavers from different types of secondary school. Co-operativeness and Social Maturity were positively associated with staying on in school to sit CSE and/or GCE examinations, particularly in the case of leavers from secondary modern schools. More detailed analysis showed that, while Co-operativeness and Social Maturity in combination were the traits most closely associated with the level of examinations sat, there was also a small but significant tendency for introverts to stay on in school and to sit more or higher examinations than extraverts.

4. A similar but more sharply-focussed picture emerged when the eight-fold typology of behavioural traits was related to the teachers' ratings of the boys' academic potential. Boys classified as "co-operative, socially mature introverts" were rated as much the most able academically and "unco-operative, socially immature introverts" as the least able. Overall, the Social Maturity score was most closely associated with rated academic potential. This suggests that the dimension which it measures may actually be something like "all-round (i.e. intellectual as well as social) competence".

5. An index was developed to show the extent to which each boy had, according to his teacher, fulfilled his academic potential in terms of examinations sat. It was found that the more socially mature boys, though more likely to be capable of passing CSE and/or GCE examinations, were also more likely to waste this potential by leaving school at 15. More specifically, the sub-group of "unco-operative, socially mature extraverts" was most likely of all to fall short of their potential in this way. A possible explanation is that such boys are particularly strongly attracted to the values and way of life typical of older adolescents who have already left school.

6. A scale was developed from certain of the boys' interview responses to measure their general attitude to school. Those who, according to their teachers, had been known to play truant scored significantly lower than others on this dimension of favourableness to school. Unfavourable attitudes were more prevalent amongst leavers from grammar, technical and comprehensive schools than amongst those from secondary moderns, but this may be because our sample excludes the pupils who elected to stay on into the sixth form. Boys rated high by their teachers on Academic Potential and on Co-operativeness tended to have a more favourable attitude to school and were less likely to have played truant than those rated low.

7. The boys' responses to interview questions about their leisure behaviour and spending habits were used to develop a scale, which was interpreted as measuring "Social Precocity" versus "Social Retardation". High scorers on the scale were those who habitually indulged in gregarious, pleasure-seeking activities typical of older adolescents. As expected, it was found that scores on this scale were significantly associated with age, though the latter accounted for only a small part of the variance in scale scores. When scale scores were compared as between "behavioural types", it was found that Co-operativeness was negatively and Social Maturity and Extraversion positively associated with high scores on the scale. "Unco-operative, socially mature extraverts" stood out as the most socially precocious of all; this was in accordance with predictions based upon our interpretation of the behavioural trait scores and also threw further light on the tendency, already noted, for boys in this group to leave school prematurely. However, there was no tendency for socially precocious boys to be rated lower than others by their teachers on Academic Potential. A further result confirming our general interpretation was that the leisure companions of socially precocious boys were more likely to be boys who had already left school, whereas socially retarded boys were more likely to associate with schoolmates. On the other hand, the relationship between Social Precocity and dislike of school was only slight, suggesting that the socially precocious boy is drawn by the positive attractions of post-school social life, rather than repelled by school as such.

8. Ratings of the boys on 7 traits were obtained from Careers Officers who had conducted youth employment interviews with them during the months before the survey. The rating scales used were a selection of those normally completed by the majority of Careers Officers in assessing school-leavers for vocational guidance and placement purposes. Correlational analysis of the 7 scores indicated that, whereas some distinction was made between "intellectual" and "dispositional" traits, the ratings assigned could largely be accounted for in terms of a single "general factor". The Careers Officer rating scores were then validated against a composite criterion measure derived from the teachers' ratings of Academic Potential, Social Maturity and Co-operativeness. Strong and generally similar patterns of association were found between each of the Careers Officer rating scores and the criterion measure. This suggested that teacher and Careers Officer tended to agree in their estimate of a boy's "all-round competence", but that the teachers, through longer acquaintance with the boys and the use of a more sensitive set of rating scales, were more successful in analysing their general evaluative judgement of the boys into separate components.

CHAPTER V

THE BOYS AS PERSONS: PSYCHOLOGICAL ORIENTATIONS TO EMPLOYMENT

5.1 Introduction

The report so far has dealt mainly with measures of the boys' home backgrounds, school environments and personal characteristics which, on the face of things, relate only indirectly to their actual behaviour in choosing and seeking a job. This is in accordance with our basic approach of proceeding from the more general to the more specific types of predictive measure. It is now time to move one step nearer to the practical issues of job choice etc., by considering the boys' psychological orientations to employment.

On a common-sense view of the matter, the mental approach of a school-leaver to the problems of choosing and obtaining his first job seems likely to be a key factor in determining his future level of success and satisfaction in employment. Indeed, the activities carried out by the Youth Employment Service within secondary schools are largely aimed at inculcating into school leavers a rational and systematic way of thinking about these problems. It therefore seemed important to include in the Stage I interviews with sample boys a number of questions of an "attitudinal" nature, designed to elicit various aspects of their thinking about employment.

There are, however, certain difficulties. The words "attitude" and "attitudinal" are often used as a convenient but imprecise way of referring to a whole range of different psychological concepts, each with its own theoretical background and implications. In the literature dealing with occupations and employment, for example, one finds references to occupational values, occupational aspirations, ideological orientations (e.g. "collectivism" versus "individualism"), motivation to succeed or achieve, attitudes to employers and fellow-workers and so on. Here, as elsewhere, therefore, the factors or concepts which one tries to identify, distinguish and measure depend very much upon one's prior theoretical frame of reference. This is so, even though the individuals with whom we are presently concerned are school leavers, so that the further complexities which surround the measurement of job-satisfaction etc. do not yet arise.

This last point serves to remind us that our contacts with the boys at Stage I took place during a transitional and somewhat indeterminate phase in their careers. On the one hand, only a very small proportion had actually started work by the time of the interview, but, on the other hand, most were within a few weeks or days of leaving school and some had already left (see Section 7.2 below). As regards jobs, many boys had already made firm vocational decisions and the majority must have had some idea, however inadequate, of the range of employment opportunities actually available to them.

In attempting to measure psychological orientations to employment under these circumstances and in interpreting associations between the measures used and actual employment decisions, we must acknowledge that the underlying causal relationships may not be entirely straightforward. While we might expect pre-existing values and attitudes to influence vocational decisions, vocational decisions are often determined by quite different factors (e.g. availability of jobs, interventions by other people) and may themselves influence attitudes and values. There is, in fact, a well-documented tendency for individuals who find themselves committed to a course of action not entirely of their own choosing to "make the best of it" by altering their pre-existing views or preferences, so as to make them more consonant with the situation as it is.

The design of the present study is such that we cannot demonstrate conclusively that orientations to employment, as measured, were in all cases antecedent to vocational decisions. However, there is strong circumstantial evidence, presented in Section 6.8 below, that decisions were, in fact, influenced by pre-existing values and attitudes, rather than vice-versa. Such a conclusion would be consistent with the results of other research in this area, which indicate that the vocational aspirations of adolescents, measured as much as two years before they actually leave school, give a good prediction of the level or status of the jobs which they eventually enter.

The arrangement and content of sections in Chapter V is as follows. In Section 5.2 we describe and discuss the development of two scales measuring orientations to employment from data obtained from the boys in the course of Stage I interviews. Section 5.3 deals with the relationships between scores on these scales and the various measures of academic performance and potential described in Chapter II. In Section 5.4 we show to what extent orientations to employment are predictable from the teachers' ratings of behavioural traits, while in Section 5.5 the predictors used are the ratings of individual boys made by Careers Officers. Sections 5.6 and 5.7 deal respectively with attitudes to school and leisure behaviour, as they relate to scores on the work orientation scales. Section 5.8 covers the effects of family socio-economic status and Section 5.9 those of family size, structure and educational level upon the boys' orientations to employment. Finally, Section 5.10 focusses on the correlation between boys' and parents' attitudes to employment.

5.2 The identification and measurement of orientations to employment

The present study is centrally concerned with the entry of boy school-leavers into employment. Whilst there are reasons for supposing that attitudes in the fields of education and leisure behaviour, such as those dealt with in Sections 4.6 and 4.7 above, may have a bearing on the boys' characteristics as potential members of the work force, it was assumed at the outset that attitudes to work, as such, were likely to be of most direct relevance to the main aims of the enquiry.

A number of different techniques aimed at tapping work attitudes and work values were used in interviewing the boys at Stage I. At the design stage it had been anticipated that these different techniques might yield different types of measure. For example, it is possible, in theory, to distinguish between beliefs, attitudes, values, aspirations and so on, and it was this type of conceptualization which to some extent guided the design of the various questions and items used.

On the other hand, the theoretical and research literature does not yield any generally-agreed framework of ideas in this area, though a number of general themes tend to recur. Hence the framework implicit in the schedule design was a subjective one and it was felt necessary to carry out a preliminary correlational analysis, in which all the material bearing on attitudes, values etc. was included, in order to see whether the various concepts were empirically distinguishable.

As it turned out, they were not, and a reappraisal had to be made. The most obvious feature of the correlation matrix was the generally low value of the coefficients obtained. However, it was possible to detect a general structure which tended to cut across many of the distinctions originally envisaged. Two main item-clusters were defined, each of which was then used as the basis of an attitude-type scale by the simple procedure of scoring 1 for item responses classified as "positive" for the purpose of the analysis and 0 for all other responses. The responses counted as "positive" in forming the first scale were as follows:

Q.10f Boy rated "a good chance of promotion" amongst his 4 most desired job-characteristics.

Q.11b Boy preferred "working with his brain" to "working with his hands".

Q.48e Boy was not uninterested in office jobs.

Q.51c Boy said he would not refuse a job as accounts clerk.

Q.50d Boy considered "Van boy" a worse-than-average job.

Q.51e Boy said he would not refuse a job as assistant in a chemical laboratory.

Q.51f Boy said he would not refuse a job as a trainee draughtsman.

Q.50f Boy considered "Trainee draughtsman" a better-than-average job.

Q.50i Boy considered "Labourer on a building site" a worse-than-average job.

Since there were nine possible "positive" responses, scores on the final scale ranged from 0 to 9.

The general interpretation to be attached to scores on this scale seems fairly clear from perusal of the constituent items. Eight out of the nine positive responses imply either a preference for "white collar" or "technological" jobs, or a low opinion of (unskilled) manual jobs. The remaining item concerns ambition for promotion, which has often been shown to be more characteristic of "white collar" and professional than of manual workers. Hence we may conclude that high scores on the scale indicate a preference for and high opinion of non-manual work, a correspondingly low opinion of unskilled manual work and a hint of an incipient "white collar ideology". Low scores, on the other hand, indicate a rejection or lack of interest in non-manual jobs and promotion and a refusal to devalue unskilled manual work. The scale has therefore been labelled "White Collar Orientation". (For details of reliability, see Appendix B).

The responses counted as "positive" in forming a scale based upon the second main cluster of intercorrelated items were as follows:

Q.10h Boy rated "Working near home" amongst his 6 most desired job-characteristics.

Q.10l Boy rated "Good pay" amongst his 4 most desired job-characteristics.

Q.10m Boy rated "Working hours that are not too long" amongst his 6 most desired job-characteristics.

Q.49d Boy agreed with the statement: "I would like a job that was always easy".

Q.49g Boy did not disagree with the statement: "Once you have thought of one job you would like, you should keep your mind on that and not worry about other jobs".

Q.49h Boy agreed strongly with the statement: "When all's said and done, the most important thing about any job is the pay".

Since there were six possible "positive" responses, scores on the final scale ranged from 0 to 6.

In considering how to interpret scores on this scale, it is worth bearing in mind a very general finding which emerges from studies concerned with adult workers' attitudes to employment. A contrast frequently appears between two extreme groups, with the remainder of the population ranged along a continuum between them. At the one extreme are individuals whose attitude towards jobs is determined by the nature of the work itself - its intrinsic interest, the scope for individual skill, autonomy, creativity and so on. At the other extreme are individuals who appear to start from the assumption that the work itself is unlikely to offer them any personal satisfaction and that consequently the less physical and mental involvement they have in it, the better. For them the only reason for working and the only valid criterion which distinguishes one job from another is the "extrinsic" material rewards, in the shape of pay or other benefits, which are offered. Amongst the population as a whole, individuals whose attitudes fall at the extremes of this dimension probably constitute only small minorities, but there is a strong tendency for professional workers, for example, to belong to the first group and for semi- or unskilled production workers to belong to the second.

Five of the six items contributing to our scale seem to relate fairly clearly to an attitudinal dimension of the type just described. The third and fourth responses listed seem to express a preference for minimal involvement in work activity, while the first, second and sixth indicate a pre-occupation with material and extrinsic rewards and conveniences. The fifth response does not fall obviously into either group, being concerned with the boy's approach to choosing a job or career. However, it does seem to indicate a view that choice of employment is not a matter to which it is worth devoting much thought or effort, and this is in keeping with the idea of minimal personal involvement in work. It therefore seems reasonable to give the label "Instrumental Orientation" to this scale, so as to indicate that high scorers are those who regard work merely as "instrumental" in obtaining material benefits, rather than as potentially satisfying and rewarding in its own right. (Fuller details of the reliability of the scale are given in Appendix B).

Before we proceed to discuss the empirical relationships between the two work orientation scales and other measures used in the study, two issues must be briefly dealt with which arise directly from the methods used in deriving and constructing the scales.

Firstly, it will be noted that the attitudinal dimensions measured by the scales, as such, appear to be of a broader and more general kind than were the concepts to which many of the original questions referred (see, for example, Q10, Q49 and Q50 on the Boys' Stage I schedule in Appendix C). It is, of course, possible that different methods of analysis would have revealed a more detailed and specific structure of attitudes, but on present evidence we are led to the following conclusion. In describing the "attitudes to work" of a relatively heterogeneous sample of boys, at a point in their careers when they have no direct, personal experience of full-time employment, the measures of most general validity are those which refer to broad, simplistic prejudices or tendencies, rather than to specific and well-articulated beliefs or policies. Further evidence for the validity of these measures and of their discriminative and predictive properties will be presented in due course.

The second issue which arises concerns the relationship between the two scales described above. While there appears to be a clear difference in their conceptual content, it is necessary to show empirically that they are not, in practice, so closely related as to be indistinguishable. This might happen, for example, if both scales in reality reflected informants' desire to give socially acceptable replies to survey questions. Taken across the whole sample, the product moment correlation coefficient between the two scaled variables is -.33. This indicates that there is some tendency for boys who score high on the "White Collar Orientation" (WCO) scale to score low on the "Instrumental Orientation" (IO) scale and vice versa. However, there is no basis for regarding the two scales as measures of the identical attitudinal dimension.

5.3 The relationships between academic characteristics and employment orientations

Our main aim in devoting so much attention to the measurement of orientations to employment is to provide an empirical demonstration of the role which attitudes and values play in determining school-leavers' vocational decisions and their subsequent adjustment to employment. As a means of validating our measures for this purpose, it is useful to compare and contrast certain academically-defined sub-groups within our sample of leavers, in terms of their scores on the WCO and IO scales.

Table 5.1 compares sub-samples of boys, distinguished according to the type of secondary school which they attended, in terms of scores on the two work orientation scales. For simplicity, scores on each scale have been grouped into three ranges, which will be referred to as "high", "average" and "low" respectively.

Previous research, as well as common observation, suggests that the "typical" grammar school boy would score higher on the WCO scale than the "typical" secondary modern school boy. That is to say, the home backgrounds and school environment of grammar school pupils are such as to encourage "white collar" values and aspirations more than those of secondary modern pupils. On the other hand, the standards and values associated with grammar school education seem to be antagonistic to those implied by high scores on the IO scale, so we would expect grammar school boys to score lower than others on this scale. In the present case the issue is complicated by the fact, already

Table 5.1 Relationships between work orientations and type of secondary school attended

(a) White Collar Orientation Scale	Grammar or technical schools	Comprehensive schools	Secondary modern schools	Total
	%	%	%	%
High (Scale scores 7-9)	65	46	34	40
Average (Scale scores 5-6)	24	27	36	33
Low (Scale scores 0-4)	11	25	30	27
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

(b) Instrumental Orientation Scale	%	%	%	%
High (Scale scores 4-6)	16	35	32	31
Average (Scale score 3)	27	23	23	24
Low (Scale scores 0-2)	57	42	45	45
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	188	384	1154	1726

referred to, that our sample covers only the minority of grammar school boys who leave by the end of their fifth year. Nevertheless, both predictions are confirmed by the figures shown in Table 5.1. On the WCO scale, leavers from grammar and technical schools tend to score highest and leavers from secondary modern schools lowest, with leavers from comprehensives intermediate between the two. On the IO scale, grammar and technical school leavers are more likely to score low, but the highest average score, by a small margin, is found amongst boys from comprehensives, rather than amongst boys from secondary moderns.

Tables 5.2 and 5.3 show the extent to which scores on the work orientation scales can be predicted from our two measures of academic level, namely, examinations sat and Teacher's Academic Rating. In order to isolate the effects of academic attainment, as such, from the school type effects already noted, each analysis has been carried out separately within each of the three school type sub-samples.

Scanning the results of the twelve separate analyses, it can be seen at once that the overall picture is one of strong and remarkably regular relationships, with boys of higher academic attainment tending throughout to score higher on the WCO scale and lower on the IO scale than those of lower attainment. A closer scrutiny of Tables 5.2 shows that the most marked differences in work orientations were between non-examination candidates (i.e. 15-year-old leavers) and the rest, though there were also regular and

Table 5.2 Work Orientation scale scores analysed by leaving age/level of examinations sat within school type

(a) Grammar/Technical pupils		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				Base (rewtd)
		0–4	5–6	7–9	T.	0–2	3	4–6	T.	
Sat only/mainly GCE subjects	%	5	20	74	100	63	25	12	100	103
Sat only/mainly CSE subjects	%	5	27	68	100	58	26	16	100	47
Sat neither GCE nor CSE	%	33	33	34	100	31	32	27	100	38
TOTAL	%	11	24	65	100	57	27	16	100	188

(b) Comprehensive pupils

Sat 1 or more GCE subjects	%	5	15	80	100	61	25	14	100	75
Sat subjects at CSE only	%	10	32	57	100	60	20	20	100	72
Sat neither GCE nor CSE	%	35	33	32	100	31	24	45	100	238
TOTAL	%	25	27	46	100	42	23	35	100	384

(c) Secondary modern pupils

Sat 1 or more GCE subjects	%	6	23	71	100	61	27	12	100	121
Sat subjects at CSE only	%	11	28	62	100	61	21	18	100	167
Sat neither GCE nor CSE	%	38	39	24	100	40	23	37	100	866
TOTAL	%	30	36	34	100	45	23	32	100	1154

significant differences between boys sitting wholly or mainly GCE "O" Level and those sitting wholly or mainly CSE examinations. In Tables 5.3, largely because the distribution of rated academic potential was more symmetric than that of examination candidacy, the gradation from the least to the most able boys, in terms of work orientation scores, is smoother. Tables 5.3 (b) and (c) in particular show very strong relationships between academic rating and the work orientation scores.

Table 5.3 Work Orientation scale scores analysed by Teacher's Academic Rating score within school type

		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				
(a) Grammar/Technical pupils		0–4	5–6	7–9	T.	0–2	3	4–6	T.	Base (rewtd)
RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING –										
4 or more GCE subjects	%	6	16	78	100	69	20	11	100	57
1–3 GCE subjects	%	7	29	64	100	52	33	15	100	64
Less able	%	21	29	51	100	53	22	24	100	47
TOTAL	%	11	24	65	100	58	26	16	100	169
(b) Comprehensive pupils										
RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING –										
1 or more GCE subjects	%	9	21	70	100	54	27	19	100	93
3 or more CSE subjects	%	17	25	59	100	54	19	27	100	80
1–2 CSE subjects	%	18	44	38	100	35	27	38	100	84
Less able	%	51	28	20	100	26	20	54	100	100
TOTAL	%	24	29	46	100	42	23	35	100	358
(c) Secondary modern pupils										
RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING –										
1 or more GCE subjects	%	7	31	63	100	71	19	11	100	199
3 or more CSE subjects	%	17	40	44	100	53	24	23	100	221
1–2 CSE subjects	%	28	44	28	100	43	23	34	100	245
Less able	%	52	32	16	100	29	25	46	100	405
TOTAL	%	31	36	33	100	45	23	32	100	1068

The close similarities between the patterns of results shown in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 respectively prompt one to ask whether the two variables, level of examinations sat and academic rating score, should be regarded as identical, so far as their relationship with work orientations is concerned. An answer to this query is provided by Table 5.4, which shows the association between academic rating score and scores on the WCO and IO scales, for boys who sat neither GCE nor CSE examinations (i.e. 15-year-old-leavers) only.

Table 5.4 Prediction of scores on the Work Orientation scales by Teacher's Academic Rating, for non-examination candidates only

		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				
RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING -		0–4	5–6	7–9	Total	0–2	3	4–6	Total	Base (rewtd)
At least 1 "O" Level	%	18	43	39	100	58	18	24	100	88
At least 1 CSE	%	25	44	31	100	44	24	32	100	491
Less able	%	52	31	17	100	29	24	47	100	488
TOTAL	%	37	38	25	100	38	23	39	100	1067

It is quite clear from the results shown that academic rating score gives a very strong prediction of scores on the work orientation scales, even amongst those boys (constituting two thirds of the sample) who were alike in having no chance of acquiring GCE or CSE qualifications while at school. This finding is an important one, since it shows that differences in work orientations were related to teachers' opinions, and not merely to observable facts (e.g. type of school attended, level of examinations sat), bearing on the boys' academic attainments. Now, the boys may well have been more or less aware of their teachers' academic opinions of them, but it is difficult to believe that this knowledge caused them to adopt particular orientations to employment. Rather, we are led to conclude that the personal qualities seen by teachers as indicative of high or low academic potential must form part of a broader syndrome of attributes which is also manifested in orientations to employment. We shall have more to say below concerning the possible nature and origins of such a syndrome.

The finding that work orientations are related to teachers' academic ratings, even amongst boys who had sat no examinations raises the question of whether the relationship with level of examinations sat (Table 5.2) still holds good when academic rating score is held constant. Tables 5.5 show that a strong residual relationship does exist.

Tables 5.5 show the relationship between the school-leaving age/level of examinations sat variable and scores on the two work orientation scales, for two levels of rated academic potential. Because of limitations upon numbers within categories, it has been necessary to group all GCE "O" Level candidates together in Tables (a), but in Tables (b) separate categories have been distinguished for those sitting 1-3 and those sitting 4 or more subjects at "O" Level respectively.

Table 5.5 Prediction of scores on the Work Orientation scales by leaving age/level of examinations sat, for two levels of rated academic potential

(a) Boys rated capable of one or more subjects at CSE below Grade 1 only

		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				
EXAMINATIONS SAT		0–4	5–6	7–9	Total	0–2	3	4–6	Total	Base (rewtd)
1 or more GCE subjects	%	7	21	73	100	51	30	19	100	45
CSE subjects only	%	9	30	61	100	58	21	21	100	135
No subjects at GCE or CSE	%	25	44	31	100	44	23	32	100	491
TOTAL	%	21	39	40	100	47	23	29	100	671

(b) Boys rated capable of passing 1–3 subjects at GCE "O" Level only

		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				
EXAMINATIONS SAT		0–4	5–6	7–9	Total	0–2	3	4–6	Total	Base (rewtd)
4 or more GCE subjects	%	4	26	70	100	67	21	12	100	72
1–3 GCE subjects	%	5	23	72	100	59	29	12	100	55
CSE subjects only	%	6	25	69	100	66	25	8	100	68
No subjects at GCE or CSE	%	17	40	42	100	55	21	24	100	66
TOTAL	%	8	29	63	100	62	24	14	100	260

The main feature of these results is that non-examination candidates (15-year old leavers) in all cases tended significantly to score lower on the WCO scale, but higher on the IO scale, than other boys similarly rated. Differences between boys who had sat examinations at different levels were slight and inconsistent by comparison. It thus appears that, while work orientations varied with academic rating score regardless of "visible" examination performance (or the lack of it), they also varied with age of school-leaving, regardless of rated potential. In other words, the disposition to leave school early seems to constitute a further, independent symptom in the syndrome of personal attributes which includes orientations to employment.

5.4 The relationship between work orientations and teachers' behavioural ratings

It was shown in the last section that, in giving their academic assessment of the sample boys, teachers were also, in effect, distinguishing groups which differed markedly in their orientations to employment. In other words, the teachers were able to recognize and respond to some psychological trait or traits which was central to the boys' thinking (and, possibly, their behaviour) in the realm of employment, as well as in the classroom. This prompts one to enquire whether the teachers' behavioural ratings may also have some broader significance.

In order to explore this avenue, the boys' scores on the WCO and IO scales were analysed by the eight-fold Behavioural Trait Typology which was described in Section 4.3 above. Preliminary inspection of the tables thus produced showed that the Extraversion trait had no significant association with orientations to work and this dimension was therefore eliminated, giving the simplified, four-fold typology, based upon Co-operativeness and Social Maturity scores, which is shown in Table 5.6 below.

Table 5.6 Co-operativeness - Social Maturity typology as a predictor of scores on the WCO and IO scales

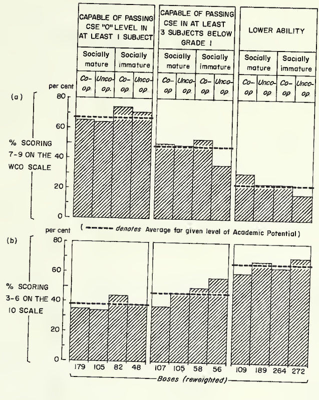
		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				
Type Definition		0-4	5-6	7-9	T.	0-2	3	4-6	T.	Base (rewtd)
(1) Co-operative Soc. Mat.	%	15	33	52	100	57	22	21	100	396
(2) Co-operative Soc. Immat.	%	29	33	37	100	43	23	34	100	410
(3) Unco-operative Soc. Mat.	%	27	32	40	100	47	27	27	100	414
(4) Unco-operative Soc. Immat.	%	38	35	27	100	36	23	42	100	378
TOTAL	%	27	33	40	100	46	24	31	100	1598

It is plain from Table 5.6 that both Co-operativeness and Social Maturity, as measured by the factor scores derived from teachers' ratings, are significantly associated with the attitudes measured by the WCO and IO scales. The more co-operative and socially mature boys tend to score higher on the WCO scale and lower on the IO scale than the more unco-operative and socially immature. It can also be seen that scores on Co-operativeness serve to predict scores on the attitude scales even with the level of Social Maturity held constant, and vice versa. In other words, the two behavioural traits are associated with orientations to work independently of one another. (This conclusion might also, of course, have been deduced from the fact that the behavioural trait scores are based upon orthogonal - that is, statistically unrelated - factors).

It seems, therefore, that in making both their academic and their behavioural assessments of the boys whom they were asked to rate, the teachers were recognizing and responding to some complex of personal traits which is also manifested in the boys' own work orientations. This prompts one to ask

Figure 5·1

SUPERIMPOSED EFFECTS OF RATED ACADEMIC POTENTIAL, SOCIAL MATURITY AND CO-OPERATIVENESS UPON SCORES ON THE WCO AND IO SCALES



whether the key traits concerned may not be essentially the same for both types of assessment. The hypothesis is put to the test in Figure 5.1.

The hatched vertical bars in Figure 5.1 (a) and (b) correspond to proportions of boys within twelve sub-samples who made high scores on the WCO and IO scales respectively. Reading from the left, the first four bars all represent sub-samples of boys whose academic potential was rated relatively "high" by their teachers, in that they were thought capable of passing at least one subject at GCE "O" Level. The next four bars represent boys of "medium" academic potential and the last four bars represent boys of relatively "low" academic potential (as rated by their teachers). It is clear from a quick scanning of the two diagrams that individual differences in scores on the WCO and IO scales can be largely - though by no means entirely - accounted for in terms of differences in academic rating score (cf. Tables 5.3).

The four bars within each of the three sets represent a typology, for constant level of Academic Rating, based on scores on the Social Maturity and Co-operativeness traits. Thus differences in the heights of individual bars within each set of four correspond to effects of one or both of the behavioural traits upon orientation to work, with academic level held (approximately) constant.

For both the WCO and the IO scales, the clearest separation of effects can be seen by considering the four bars on the right of the diagram. Here the picture is quite orderly and regular and illustrates the fact that both Co-operativeness and Social Maturity make separate contributions to the prediction of scores on the WCO and IO scales, within that sub-sample of boys considered by their teachers to be incapable of achieving Grade 2 or below in as many as three subjects at CSE. Thus, for example, it is the Socially Immature, Unco-operative boys who make the lowest scores of all on the WCO scale and the highest scores of all on the IO scale.

Turning next to the four bars in the centre of each diagram, we find similar effects of Co-operativeness and Social Maturity within the "Three or more CSE subjects" sub-sample, though here the picture is not quite as regular in the case of the WCO as in the case of the IO scale. The four bars on the left of the diagrams, however, show a pattern which is definitely anomalous when compared with the results already discussed. Within this sub-sample, the more socially mature boys actually score lower on the WCO scale than the socially immature, while the more co-operative boys score higher on the IO scale than the unco-operative.

It is possible that these apparent anomalies represent genuine "interaction effects" between academic and behavioural (or personality) traits. For example, it is possible that, amongst more able boys in general, high aspiration (i.e. as measured by high scores on the WCO scale) is associated with social immaturity, whereas, amongst less able boys, it is associated with social maturity. On the whole, however, the most likely explanation is that our "most able" group is not representative of able boys in general, but only of able boys who choose not to stay in school beyond the age of 16. This being so, the anomalous results could quite easily be the result of differential associations, amongst the more able, between Co-operativeness, Social Maturity and the disposition to stay on into the sixth form. For example, if able, socially mature, high-aspiring boys tend to stay on into the sixth form, this would explain the apparent "shortfall" of able, socially mature boys scoring high on the WCO scale in Figure 5.1.

In general, then, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Social Maturity and Co-operativeness scores make contributions to the prediction of scores on the WCO and IO scales which are to some extent statistically independent of, and additive with, the already strong prediction yielded by the Teacher's Academic Rating scores. Using all three predictors together and comparing proportions of boys within defined sub-groups who made "high" scores on the WCO and IO scales, differences of 40-50% can be demonstrated, as in Figure 5.1. This, it should be emphasized, was achieved in spite of the fact that the predictors were all used in an extremely crude and highly-simplified form, with a corresponding reduction in their discriminative power. It should also be borne in mind that the criteria, as well as the predictors, are derived from scales of far from perfect reliability and that this must reduce the level of statistical prediction which is theoretically obtainable.

It is somewhat surprising to find so strong an association between teachers' assessments of boys' ability and behaviour at secondary school and the boys' own attitudes towards a part of their lives - i.e. employment - which, by definition, falls outside their school experience. On the other hand, it will be recalled that this same combination of scores on Academic Potential, Social Maturity and Co-operativeness proved to be closely linked to the "general factor" underlying the Careers Officers' ratings (see Table 4.18 above). Bearing in mind the interpretation of this latter relationship which was advanced in Chapter IV, it is at least tempting to conclude that White Collar and Instrumental orientations to employment constitute one aspect of that central syndrome of personal traits which both teachers and Careers Officers seem to interpret as symptomatic of academic, social and vocational competence or incompetence.

5.5 The relationship between work orientations and Careers Officers' ratings

If the interpretation of the WCO and IO scale scores tentatively advanced at the end of the last chapter is sound, we would expect to find a substantial relationship between the boys' scale scores and the Careers Officers' ratings of them, in so far as these ratings measure a "general factor" underlying the Careers Officers' judgements. That such a relationship exists is shown by Table 5.7.

In order to make Table 5.7 easier to scan, distributions of scores on the WCO and IO scales have been given for "high" scorers (i.e. those placed in categories A-B) and "low" scorers (i.e. those placed in categories D-E) only on each of the Careers Officer rating scales. It can be seen at once that the pattern of distributions is very similar for each of the CO rating scales: those assigned high ratings by their Careers Officer tend to score higher than average on the WCO scale and lower than average on the IO scale, while those assigned low ratings show the opposite tendencies. The differences are most extreme between boys rated high and low on the General Intelligence and Mathematical Ability scales and much less marked than average between high and low scorers on the Practical Ability scale. It will be recalled from the analysis discussed in Chapter 4.8 above that Practical Ability was, of all the CO rating scales, the least closely related to the "general factor".

The results presented in Table 5.7 clearly show that boys who made a favour-

Table 5.7 Relationships between work orientations and Careers Officers' ratings

CAREERS OFFICERS' RATING: TRAIT AND SCORE ASSIGNED		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				Base (rewtd)
		0–4	5–6	7–9	T	0–2	3	4–6	T	
General Intelligence	A–B %	11	30	59	100	63	23	14	100	356
	D–E %	48	33	19	100	31	25	44	100	457
Mathematical Ability	A–B %	11	30	59	100	59	28	14	100	254
	D–E %	45	33	22	100	34	22	44	100	606
Verbal Ability	A–B %	16	32	52	100	60	23	17	100	383
	D–E %	43	34	23	100	28	25	47	100	369
Practical Ability	A–B %	17	41	42	100	52	25	23	100	500
	D–E %	41	28	31	100	37	26	36	100	257
Maturity	A–B %	15	31	54	100	59	24	16	100	356
	D–E %	41	28	31	100	35	24	41	100	320
Confidence	A–B %	18	33	49	100	58	23	19	100	419
	D–E %	41	27	32	100	32	22	46	100	306
Appearance	A–B %	18	34	48	100	53	23	24	100	590
	D–E %	57	24	19	100	31	23	46	100	194
TOTAL		28	33	39	100	45	24	31	100	1477

able impression upon the Careers Officer differed from those who made a relatively unfavourable impression in, amongst other things, their orientations to employment. Indeed, the magnitude of differences between highly-rated and lowly-rated boys, in terms of scores on the WCO and IO scales, leads one to suspect that the ratings assigned were in some measure a direct reflection of the officers' evaluations of boys' employment orientations as assessed in the course of the youth employment interview.

5.6 The relationship between work orientations and attitudes to school

It was shown in Section 5.4 that there is a considerable degree of association between the boys' school behaviour, as perceived by their teachers, and their orientations to employment. This prompts one to enquire whether there is a relationship between the boys' own attitudes to school and their employment orientations.

As was explained in Section 4.5, we have available two measures of the boys' attitudes to school, namely, the Attitude to School scale and the Teacher's Truancy Report. The relationships between these two measures and scores on the WCO and IO scales are shown in Tables 5.8 and 5.9.

Table 5.8 Relationship between work orientations and scores on the Attitude to School scale

			WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				
ATTITUDE TO SCHOOL	Scale Score		0–4	5–6	7–9	T	0–2	3	4–6	T	Base (rewtd)
Unfavourable	0–1	%	34	32	35	100	37	27	36	100	473
Average	2–3	%	27	34	39	100	48	22	30	100	820
Favourable	4–5	%	18	33	49	100	51	24	25	100	434
TOTAL		%	26	32	41	100	45	24	31	100	1727

Table 5.9 Relationship between work orientations and the Teachers Truancy Report

		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				
TEACHER'S TRUANCY REPORT		0–4	5–6	7–9	T	0–2	3	4–6	T	Base (rewtd)
Known to play truant	%	40	32	28	100	39	22	38	100	293
Not known to play truant	%	24	34	42	100	47	24	29	100	1286
TOTAL	%	27	33	40	100	46	24	30	100	1579

The conclusions which emerge from Tables 5.8 and 5.9 are broadly parallel. It seems that there is a modest, though consistent, positive association between White Collar Orientation and a favourable attitude to school and a similar negative association between Instrumental Orientation to work and favourable attitude to school.

Whereas the direction of these relationships is as predicted, perhaps the most significant finding is that the association between attitudes to school and work orientations is much weaker than that between work orientations and scores derived from teachers' academic and behavioural assessments. This demonstrates conclusively that the latter relationship cannot be explained in terms of the former. In making their ratings, the teachers (and also the Careers Officers) must have been responding to some broader and more fundamental aspects of the boys' attitudes and behaviour than was expressed in the latters' attitudes to school.

5.7 The relationship between work orientations and leisure behaviour

As was remarked in Section 5.2 above, the aspects of work orientation which we have identified and measured using data from Stage I of the study are of a rather broad and non-specific nature. It seemed possible that work attitudes at this generalized level might be related to other aspects of the individual's approach to life in general. We therefore decided to test the hypothesis that orientations to work were significantly related to the boys' leisure behaviour and values, as measured by the Social Precocity scale. The issue is of some general interest, since a connection is often alleged to exist between the hedonistic leisure pursuits of modern youth and what are seen as declining standards of diligence and conscientiousness in employment.

Table 5.10 Relationship between work orientations and Social Precocity

(a) 15-year-old leavers only

SP SCALE SCORE			WCO SCALE SCORE 0–4	5–6	7–9	T	IO SCALE SCORE 0–2	3	4–6	T	Base (rewtd)
0	("Socially retarded")	%	30	39	30	100	32	21	47	100	205
1–2	("Average")	%	37	36	26	100	39	25	36	100	677
3–5	("Socially precocious")	%	35	35	30	100	41	26	33	100	315
	TOTAL	%	35	37	28	100	38	25	37	100	1197

(b) Leavers aged 16+ only

			WCO SCALE SCORE 0–4	5–6	7–9	T	IO SCALE SCORE 0–2	3	4–6	T	Base (rewtd)
0	("Socially retarded")	%	9	27	64	100	61	18	20	100	95
1–2	("Average")	%	5	26	69	100	59	23	17	100	231
3–5	("Socially precocious")	%	7	21	70	100	65	23	13	100	205
	TOTAL	%	6	25	68	100	62	22	16	100	532

In order to make sure that any association which existed between scores on the SP and on the WCO and IO scales was not masked by the fact that 16-year-olds score somewhat higher on Social Precocity than do 15-year-olds, the required analysis was carried out separately for the two age groups.

Tables 5.10 show that, whereas some small associations are detectable between scores on the SP scale and scores on the work orientation scales, there is no strong overall relationship. In so far as differences do appear, boys who were more given to "precocious" leisure behaviour were more likely than the more "socially retarded" boys to show the "officially approved" pattern of work orientations (i.e. high WCO/low IO scores - cf. Tables 5.6 and 5.7). There are thus no grounds for positing any generalized syndrome of alienation from officially-approved adult values, this syndrome being reflected in particular types of leisure behaviour as well as in particular types of orientation to employment.

5.8 The relationship between work orientations and family socio-economic background

We have so far considered the influence of the boys' school backgrounds and of various personal traits upon their attitudes to work. It seemed likely from the outset that the boys' home backgrounds also played an important part in shaping their general orientation to employment. For this purpose two aspects of home background may be distinguished, namely, socio-economic factors and cultural and attitudinal factors. In the present context the distinction is perhaps rather artificial, since it must be assumed that socio-economic determinants affect the boys' attitudes mainly via the cultural and psychological atmosphere of the home. However, it is convenient, if only for technical reasons, to deal with indices of the first type in this section and with indices of the second type in the sections which follow.

Table 5.11 shows how the boys' scores on the WCO and IO scales varied according to their fathers' socio-economic status. In order to produce groups of a size adequate for separate analysis, the SEG classification has been condensed into eight main categories, with boys whose fathers were in the Armed Forces or in inadequately-described occupations classified separately. The eight categories have been ordered in such a way as to make clear the general trend of the results.

It can be seen at once that there is a strong association between the father's socio-economic status and his son's attitudes to work, particularly the attitude measured by the WCO scale. In general, the nature of the association is as might have been predicted, with sons of fathers in non-manual and supervisory jobs scoring high on the WCO scale and low on the IO scale and sons of fathers in semi- and unskilled manual jobs showing the opposite pattern. It may appear surprising that sons of employers and managers, who are normally placed at the top of the socio-economic hierarchy, do not show a more extreme "High WCO - Low IO" pattern of attitudes. This may be another effect of the non-cross-sectional nature of our sample of school-leavers. It was shown in Chapter III that employers and managers are much under-represented amongst fathers of younger school-leavers, so it may well be that those who do permit their sons to leave early are somewhat atypical of the socio-economic group to which they belong.

Table 5.11 Differences in boys' work orientations according to father's socio-economic status

FATHER'S SEG		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				Base (rewtd)
		0–4	5–6	7–9	T	0–2	3	4–6	T	
Professionals and intermediate non-manual workers	%	6	30	64	100	60	16	24	100	47
Foremen and supervisors	%	15	32	53	100	57	26	17	100	103
Employers and managers	%	20	32	48	100	58	25	17	100	147
Junior non-manual workers	%	13	38	50	100	49	30	22	100	103
Skilled manual workers	%	27	33	40	100	42	26	32	100	659
Personal service and non-professional own-account workers	%	36	33	31	100	46	23	31	100	74
Semi-skilled manual workers	%	35	35	30	100	42	21	37	100	308
Unskilled manual workers	%	39	32	29	100	34	24	42	100	108
Armed Forces	%	5	37	58	100	58	19	22	100	21
Indefinite/no answer	%	26	29	45	100	41	19	39	100	77
TOTAL	%	26	33	40	100	45	24	31	100	1647

Whilst it is possible that innate differences in, for example, ability may play some part, it seems reasonable to interpret this result mainly in environmental terms. That is to say, we assume that boys' attitudes to work are influenced both by a tendency to identify with their fathers' socio-economic status and aspirations and by a tendency to adopt their fathers' employment values and attitudes as these are manifested in day-to-day family life. Such an interpretation in turn gives rise to a further hypothesis, namely, that, where the family includes not only a father but also employed elder brothers as role-models, the boy's attitudes should be influenced accordingly.

This last hypothesis is put to the test in Table 5.12. For this purpose we have used a slightly elaborated version of the family occupational status typology described and introduced in Section 3.2 above. Three occupational status groups are distinguished, namely, non-manual and supervisory workers, skilled manual workers and non-skilled manual workers (including personal service and non-professional own-account workers). In the form used here, the typology takes account both of the number of employed males in the boy's immediate family (i.e. father only or elder brothers as well) and of the status of their occupations. The analysis then enables us to compare boys from ten types of family occupational background with

Table 5.12 Combined effects of the occupational status of employed male family members upon boys' employment orientation

		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				
FAMILY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS TYPOLOGY		0–4	5–6	7–9	T	0–2	3	4–6	T	Base (rewtd)
No employed brothers, father is a non-manual+ worker	%	11	30	58	100	60	24	16	100	244
Father and brother(s) are non-manual+ workers	%	16	30	54	100	53	27	20	100	78
Family includes non-manual+ and skilled manual workers	%	20	38	42	100	57	24	20	100	83
Family includes non-manual+ and non-skilled° workers	%	30	38	32	100	46	16	39	100	48
Family includes non-manual+, skilled manual and non-skilled° workers	%	30	46	23	100	36	25	39	100	41
No employed brothers, father is a skilled manual worker	%	23	33	44	100	41	28	31	100	374
Father and brother(s) are skilled manual workers	%	28	38	34	100	48	19	33	100	152
Family includes skilled manual and non-skilled° workers	%	41	32	27	100	42	22	36	100	196
No employed brothers, father is a non-skilled° worker	%	32	35	33	100	40	25	35	100	257
Father and brothers are non-skilled° workers	%	42	25	33	100	31	26	43	100	107
Family includes at least 1 non-manual+ worker	%	17	34	50	100	55	24	21	100	495
Family includes at least 1 skilled worker	%	28	35	37	100	44	25	32	100	846
Family includes at least 1 non-skilled° worker	%	36	33	31	100	39	24	37	100	649
TOTAL	%	27	33	40	100	45	24	30	100	1580

+ Includes manual foremen and supervisors.

° Includes personal service and non-professional own-account workers.

respect to their scores on the WCO and IO scales. In addition, the three summary rows at the bottom of the table provide a simplified breakdown, which distinguishes families containing at least one non-manual, at least one skilled and at least one non-skilled worker respectively.

An interesting and remarkably regular pattern of results emerges from the table. If we look first at the three summary rows, the conclusions already drawn from Table 5.11 are confirmed in a concise manner. The presence of a non-manual worker in the family is associated with high WCO and low IO scores, whereas the presence of a non-skilled worker is associated with the low WCO - high IO pattern. However, if we now look at the top five rows of the table, it can be seen that, within the sub-sample of boys whose families contained a non-manual worker, there are large differences in attitude scores between those who came from a "solid" non-manual/supervisory background, at the one extreme, and those who came from families including one or more non-skilled workers, at the other. A similar effect appears when we compare families containing skilled workers only with those which included both skilled and non-skilled workers. Finally, we find that the boys with the lowest scores of all on WCO and the highest scores of all on IO are those from families where both father and brothers were non-skilled workers. This, of course, is exactly what would have been predicted on the basis of our hypothesis.

Superimposed upon the pattern of results just described, another and quite distinct effect can also be detected in Table 5.12. It is possible to make a comparison, at each of the three occupational levels, between boys from families where only the father was employed and boys from families where both father and brother(s) had occupations of similar occupational status. In other words, we may compare row 1 with row 2, row 6 with row 7 and row 9 with row 10. In all three cases there is a tendency for boys from families where only the father was employed to score higher on WCO and lower on IO than boys who also had employed brothers. There is thus a "number of employed family members" effect over and above the occupational status effect.

This second effect probably reflects several underlying characteristics of the sub-samples of boys who had no employed brothers. It is evident that these boys must, in the vast majority of cases, have been only, elder or eldest sons, or else must have come from families where the elder brothers were in full-time education, rather than employment. Hence it is possible that family size, position in the family or family educational background, or any combination of these factors, is responsible for producing the observed differences in attitude scores between those with and those without employed elder brothers. Let us now focus the analysis directly upon each of these factors in turn.

5.9 The influence of family size, birth order and family educational level upon orientations to employment

In Table 5.13 the boys' scores on the WCO and IO scales are analysed according to the size of the family to which they belonged and their position in the birth order. It is necessary to hold one factor constant while examining the effect of the other, since otherwise the effect of being an "intermediate" child, for example, is confounded with that of belonging to a large family.

Table 5.13 Relation of family size and birth order to boys' work orientations

		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				
FAMILY SIZE AND STRUCTURE		0–4	5–6	7–9	T	0–2	3	4–6	T	Base (rewtd)
BOY IS ONLY CHILD	%	12	32	56	100	44	27	28	100	127
Boy is elder of 2	%	15	37	48	100	55	20	25	100	180
Boy is younger of 2	%	18	32	50	100	54	30	16	100	212
2 CHILDREN IN FAMILY	%	17	35	49	100	54	26	20	100	392
Boy is eldest of 3	%	16	29	56	100	50	28	22	100	140
Boy is intermediate of 3	%	29	34	36	100	35	30	35	100	131
Boy is youngest of 3	%	19	32	49	100	53	22	25	100	94
3 CHILDREN IN FAMILY	%	22	31	47	100	45	28	27	100	364
Boy is eldest of 4	%	30	27	43	100	45	16	38	100	63
Boy is intermediate of 4	%	37	28	35	100	34	28	37	100	140
Boy is youngest of 4	%	24	28	48	100	43	16	41	100	59
4 CHILDREN IN FAMILY	%	32	28	40	100	39	22	38	100	257
Boy is eldest of 5	%	26	26	47	100	49	22	29	100	22
Boy is intermediate of 5	%	36	37	27	100	47	18	34	100	113
Boy is youngest of 5	%	29	35	35	100	45	24	30	100	38
5 CHILDREN IN FAMILY	%	33	36	31	100	47	20	33	100	172
6 OR MORE CHILDREN IN FAMILY	%	41	37	22	100	39	22	40	100	335
TOTAL	%	26	33	40	100	45	24	31	100	1647

Let us first look at the straightforward effects of family size. This can be done by comparing the distributions of percentages in the summary rows referring to families of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 or more children. It is obvious that there is a strong overall tendency for boys from larger families to score lower on the WCO scale than boys from smaller families. In the case of the IO scale the trend is not so regular: only children, for example, score significantly higher than boys from families of two and boys from families of 4 score higher than those from families of 5, even though, overall, there is a tendency for high scores to be associated with larger family size.

Let us now consider the effects of the position of the sampled boy in the family birth-order upon work orientations. An inspection of birth-order effects within families of 2, 3, 4 and 5 children respectively indicates that there is a marked and consistent tendency for intermediate children to score lower on the WCO scale and higher on the IO scale than either elder/eldest or younger/youngest children.

This is an interesting and rather unexpected finding. It seems likely that the birth-order effect reflects some rather fundamental aspect of the family-child relationship, as developed over a long period, but here we can only speculate. It may be significant that a similar analysis of the effects of birth order upon academic ability, as rated by the teacher, produces a broadly parallel result, in that the average ability-score is lowest for intermediate children. The effect is, however, less marked than in the present case.

Table 5.14 shows the relationship of family educational level to the boy's attitudes to work. Family education is defined primarily by reference to the parents' ages of leaving school, but the large "Both parents left

Table 5.14 Relationship between family educational level and boys' orientations to work (cases where the boy had at least one sibling aged eleven or over and none of the children had attended comprehensive school)

		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				
PARENT/SIBLING EDUCATIONAL TYPOLOGY		0–4	5–6	7–9	T	0–2	3	4–6	T	Base (rewtd)
Both parents left school early, no sib attended a selective school or did Further or Higher education	%	40	32	28	100	41	22	37	100	447
Both parents left school early, at least 1 sib attended a selective school or did Further or Higher education	%	24	37	39	100	45	26	29	100	384
Father, but not mother, stayed in school beyond minimum leaving age	%	11	29	59	100	69	18	13	100	66
Mother, but not father, stayed in school beyond minimum leaving age	%	18	34	48	100	45	34	21	100	79
Both parents stayed in school beyond minimum leaving age	%	6	40	54	100	54	30	16	100	57
TOTAL	%	29	34	37	100	46	25	30	100	1033

school at the minimum age" category has been split by reference to the education received by the boy's sibling(s). For reasons explained in Section 3.5 above, analyses using this typology are most meaningful when performed on the sub-sample of boys who had at least one sibling aged 11 or over and who came from families where none of the children had attended comprehensive schools.

It can be seen that, in general, there is a strong tendency for low family educational level to be associated with lower scores on the WCO scale and higher scores on the IO scale. An interesting secondary finding is that father's age of school-leaving is a stronger predictor of the son's attitudes to work than is mother's age of school-leaving. This can be seen by comparing the distributions for boys from families where the father, but not the mother, stayed in school beyond the minimum leaving age, with those for boys from families where the mother, but not the father, stayed on. In fact, it is the former group, rather than those both of whose parents stayed on, who score highest of all on WCO and lowest of all on IO. One can only surmise that these effects, once again, reflect some complex aspect of role-learning and parent-child interaction within the family context. However, the finding that fathers are more influential in this respect provides some retrospective justification for our decision to seek to interview fathers, rather than mothers, for the purposes of this study.

5.10 The relationship between parents' and boys' work orientations

It has been shown in the preceding sections 5.8 and 5.9 that objective measures of parental circumstances (e.g. occupational or educational level) yield highly significant statistical predictions of the boys' orientations to employment. However, as was argued in Chapter III above, an adequate causal account of the relationships involved requires us to assume that differences in parents' personal antecedents or circumstances are reflected in their attitudes and behaviour, and that it is the latter, in turn, which

Table 5.15 Relationship between parents' scores on the "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" scale and sons' scores on the work orientation scales

		WCO SCALE SCORE				IO SCALE SCORE				
PARENT'S CAM SCALE SCORE AND INTERPRETATION		0–4	5–6	7–9	T	0–2	3	4–6	T	Base (rewtd)
0–3 "Actively aspiring idealists"	%	15	32	53	100	57	25	18	100	379
4–5	%	21	35	45	100	51	26	23	100	372
6–7	%	30	33	37	100	44	25	32	100	457
8–12 "Cynically apathetic materialists"	%	38	33	29	100	32	22	46	100	439
TOTAL	%	26	33	40	100	45	24	31	100	1647

directly affect the attitudes and behaviour of their sons. It was further suggested in Chapter III that the "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" (CAM) scale may measure an important aspect of parental attitudes and values and may thus supply an important link in the causal argument.

Analyses presented in Chapter III showed that the CAM variable was, indeed, linked to the parents' occupational, economic and educational circumstances. It remains to demonstrate that a direct relationship also exists between the attitudes of parents (normally fathers), as measured by their scores on the CAM scale, and those of their sons, as measured by scores on the WCO and IO scales.

Table 5.15 shows that there is, indeed, a substantial and regular negative relationship between the parent's score on the CAM scale and the son's score on the WCO scale and a comparable positive relationship between parent's CAM score and son's IO score. This is what might have been predicted from the interpretations given to the scaled variables and suggests that there is, indeed, a tendency for boys' attitudes to work to be influenced by those of their parents.

It may be objected at this point that the results are also susceptible of other interpretations. For example, it might be held that the correspondence between parents' and sons' attitudes is due to the fact that they react similarly to factors in their common physical and social environment and not a case of direct parent-son influence at all. More specifically, it might be argued that sons' attitudes are related to their fathers' because both are members of the same social class, rather than because they are members of the same family. The validity of this latter interpretation may be tested by examining the relationship between parents' and sons' attitudes with social class (i.e. father's occupational status) held constant. This is done in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16 Relationship between parents' scores on the "Cynical-apathetic Materialism" scale and sons' scores on the work orientation scales, for families where the head of household was a skilled manual worker

PARENT'S CAM SCALE SCORE AND INTERPRETATION		(a) WCO SCALE SCORE				(b) IO SCALE SCORE				
		0–4	5–6	7–9	T	0–2	3	4–6	T	Base (rewtd)
0–3 "Actively aspiring idealists"	%	13	38	50	100	48	27	24	100	125
4–5	%	19	36	45	100	48	25	27	100	156
6–7	%	32	26	42	100	44	27	29	100	181
8–12 "Cynically apathetic materialists"	%	38	35	27	100	33	25	43	100	198
TOTAL	%	27	33	40	100	42	26	32	100	660

The full analysis here (which was, in fact, carried out) would involve presenting separate sets of tables for each occupational level. However, the general conclusion which emerged can be adequately illustrated by means of one set of tables only and for this purpose the sub-sample of families where the head of household (i.e. in the vast majority of cases the boy's father) was a skilled manual worker has been selected for presentation in Table 5.16.

The point at issue, so far as the two alternative interpretations of the relationship between parents' and sons' attitudes is concerned, is whether controlling for occupational status virtually abolishes the association. Some reduction in the strength of the association would be expected even on the "parental influence" hypothesis, since we know (from Tables 3.10 and 5.11) that both sets of attitudes are class-related. If, however, a significant residual relationship remains when class/occupational status is controlled, the presumption is that family interactions, as well as general class background, must play a part.

In fact, it is clear that a strong residual relationship does remain in Tables 5.16, so our hypothesis that parents' attitudes directly influence those of their sons is, to that extent, supported.

5.11 Summary

1. Chapter V deals with the boys' psychological orientations to employment and with various factors which can be shown to influence these. Since most boys either had a job definitely fixed up or some specific form of employment in mind by the time of the Stage I interviews, no formal proof can be given that work orientations, as measured at Stage I, qualify as antecedents, rather than side- or after-effects, of employment decisions. However, the weight of indirect evidence, both in this chapter and elsewhere, supports our interpretation of them as potential determinants of job-choice.

2. Some difficulty was caused by the wide range of psychological concepts and theories which fall under the heading of "orientations to employment" and the lack of any generally-accepted framework of ideas. The approach adopted in designing the interview schedule was fairly eclectic, within the limitations imposed by the amount of time and space available. A preliminary correlational analysis of the data on employment attitudes, values, aspirations etc. indicated that the overall pattern of results could largely be accounted for in terms of two underlying dimensions. The first of these dimensions expressed the contrast between boys who thought highly of and aspired to non-manual types of employment and those whose aspirations were lower and who saw nothing objectionable in non-skilled manual work. The second dimension contrasted boys whose orientation to employment was "instrumental", in that they sought maximum material benefit in return for minimum personal involvement and expected little in the way of personal satisfaction from work, with boys who placed a higher value on non-material rewards and satisfactions. Attitude scales were developed to measure these dimensions and were labelled "White Collar Orientation" (WCO) and "Instrumental Orientation" (IO) respectively. There was a moderate negative correlation between scores on the two scales.

3. In spite of the fact that sixth-formers were excluded from the sample, it was found that leavers from grammar and technical schools were much the most likely and leavers from secondary modern schools the least likely to be "white collar oriented" (i.e. to score high on the WCO scale). Leavers from comprehensive and secondary modern schools were more likely than those from grammar and technical schools to be "instrumentally oriented" to employment. Level of examinations sat and teacher's rating of academic potential were both positively correlated with scores on the WCO scale and negatively correlated with scores on the IO scale. More detailed analysis showed that academic rating score and age of leaving school were independently related to scores on the work orientation scales.

4. Of the three factor scores derived from the teachers' behavioural ratings, Extraversion was unrelated to work orientations, but scores on both Social Maturity and Co-operativeness were correlated positively with White Collar and negatively with Instrumental orientation to employment. A composite measure based upon teachers' ratings of Academic Potential, Social Maturity and Co-operativeness yielded a very strong prediction of scores on the WCO and IO scales. It was suggested that all five measures relate to a central syndrome of personal traits, which is reflected both in the boys' psychological orientations to employment and in teachers' ratings of their reaction to authority and general level of social and academic competence in the school situation.

5. This interpretation was supported by the results of an analysis in which the boys' scores on the work orientation scales were related to Careers Officers' ratings of them. For each rating scale, a significant and very similar pattern of relationships was found: the most favourably-rated boys tended to score high on the WCO and low on the IO scale, whereas the least favourably-rated tended to score low on the WCO and high on the IO scale.

6. Only a moderate relationship was found to exist between attitudes to school, as measured by boys' scores on the Attitude to School scale and Teachers' Truancy Report, and orientations to employment. As expected, truants and boys who disliked school tended to score low on the WCO scale and high on the IO scale. There was little relationship between scores on the Social Precocity scale and orientations to employment. It therefore appears that reactions to school experience and the habits and values reflected in leisure behaviour are related in only an indirect way, if at all, to work orientations.

7. The boys' orientations to employment were found to be predictable from their fathers' socio-economic status; as expected, sons of white collar and supervisory workers tended to score higher on the WCO scale and sons of manual workers to score higher on the IO scale. This prediction was strengthened when the occupational status of the boy's employed brothers (if any) was also taken into account. On the whole, this seems to suggest that work orientations are significantly determined by the social environment and atmosphere of the home.

8. Orientations to employment varied significantly with the size of the family to which the boy belonged, with boys from larger families tending to score lower on the WCO scale than boys from families of one or two children only. The effect was similar but less regular in the case of the IO scale. Over and above this family size effect, it was found that

there was a systematic tendency for intermediate children to score lower on the WCO scale and higher on the IO scale than either eldest or youngest children.

9. Family educational level, as measured in terms of the parents' age of school-leaving and the type of secondary school attended by the boy's siblings aged 11 and over, was also significantly related to orientations to employment. In general, the higher the family educational level, the more likely was the boy to score high on the WCO and low on the IO scale. However, the group which showed this pattern in its most extreme form comprised boys whose mothers had left school at the minimum legal age, but whose fathers had stayed on beyond this age.

10. Parents' scores on the Cynical-apathetic Materialism scale (cf. Section 3.6) were found to be negatively correlated with sons' scores on the WCO scale and positively correlated with their scores on the IO scale. These relationships held good even when the father's socio-economic status was held constant, suggesting that the effect was produced by family interactions, rather than merely by the shared class background of parent and son.

CHAPTER VI

OCCUPATIONAL INTENTIONS: JOBS FIXED UP AND JOBS SOUGHT

6.1 Introduction

Our programme of data collection and analysis for the present study was laid down upon the general assumption that the boys' home and school backgrounds and their basic personal characteristics would be covered mainly at Stage I, leaving the details of their early employment careers to be dealt with at Stages II and III. While this approach served for operational purposes, it gives rise to certain difficulties when we come to handle topics associated with the actual transition from school to employment, since these have both a prospective and a retrospective aspect.

A case in point is the topic of occupational intentions. This was covered in some detail at Stage I, but at that time only half the boys in the sample claimed to have a job definitely fixed up for when they left school. On the face of things, therefore, there was still considerable doubt as to which types of employment the remaining boys would actually enter. The Stage I data on occupational intentions are thus somewhat difficult to interpret, since we cannot be sure to what extent we are dealing with facts about the first job and to what extent with hopes and aspirations destined never to reach fruition.

This problem could, of course, have been avoided by postponing all discussion of issues to do with employment until the data from Stages II and III of the enquiry became available for analysis. Information on occupational intentions could then be related to information about the first job actually entered on leaving school, as well as to relevant antecedent factors measured at Stage I. We shall, in fact, be carrying out an analysis on these lines in due course, but in the meantime it seemed worthwhile to examine the data on occupational intentions in their own right, in spite of the ambiguities referred to. This decision was in line with our general view that "occupational choice" is best treated, not as an event which occurs when a boy consciously asks himself "What kind of job should I aim at?" and then arrives at some specific answer, but rather as a process which begins in early childhood and is normally far advanced by the time of school-leaving, even in cases where no conscious decision has been made. If this approach is sound, the Stage I data on occupational intentions and their determinants already provide much relevant material for discussion, whatever the exact relationship between occupational intentions or aspirations and actual employment outcomes may prove to be.

The decision to proceed still left us with a secondary problem to resolve, namely, whether to carry out separate and parallel analyses of the data on jobs actually fixed up and on jobs sought but not yet fixed up, respectively, or to analyse occupational intentions as a whole, without reference to the degree of progress actually made towards employment. In order to resolve this issue, a number of preliminary analyses were carried out in which "jobs fixed up" were distinguished from "main jobs sought". Some differences in the pattern of results were found, but, in general, the occupational intentions represented by the latter did not appear to be markedly different from, or less realistic than, those represented by the former. Indeed, the evidence confirmed our view that many of the major factors which influence occupational aims and intentions (and, it may be assumed, actual vocational destinations) had made their impact well before the time when our interviews were carried out.

It was therefore decided to treat each analysis on its own merits in deciding whether the more complex method of presentation, in which "jobs fixed up" and "main jobs sought" are distinguished, or the simpler form in which data for all boys who specified a job are pooled, was the more appropriate. In considering these analyses it should be remembered, firstly, that the topic of individual differences in the amount of progress made towards obtaining a job is dealt with more fully in Chapter VII below and, secondly, that we shall be returning to the topic of first jobs actually started by all sample boys in the Report on Stages II and III of the enquiry.

A key issue in any discussion of occupational intentions is the method to be adopted in classifying occupations. In view of the importance of this topic at all stages of the present study, Section 6.2 below and Appendix C are devoted to a discussion of the aims and problems of classification and to an account of how the methods of classification upon which our analyses are based were derived. In Section 6.3 these methods are applied to the data obtained on "jobs fixed up", "main jobs sought" and on the occupations of the fathers of boys included in the sample. The obtained distributions are compared and a number of preliminary conclusions are drawn. In Section 6.4 we examine relationships between the boys' academic characteristics and their occupational intentions and in Section 6.5 we consider the extent to which scores on the work orientation scales serve to predict occupational aspirations. In Section 6.6 we look at the effects of home background variables, such as the occupational and educational status of other family members, upon the boy's level of occupational aspiration.

In Section 6.7 we review the evidence presented in Sections 6.3-6 as it bears upon the problems of interpreting the distinction between "jobs fixed up" and "main jobs sought" and demonstrates the extent to which vocational outcomes are influenced by factors inherent in the boys' social and academic backgrounds.

In Section 6.8 we show that considerable differences exist between area subsamples of school-leavers, as regards the distribution of occupational aspirations and prospects. These undoubtedly reflect differences between "area employment environments", though it is difficult at this stage to identify more precisely the source of such variations.

6.2 Selection and development of a method of occupational classification

The point has now been reached where we need to consider in detail the occupations which boys in the sample said they hoped to take up, or which were otherwise referred to in the course of the interviews. In a study of this kind the approach used in classifying occupational references is clearly of key importance. In this section, therefore, we briefly describe the system of classification adopted and its application to the occupational data obtained at Stage I. The underlying principles and problems are discussed in more detail in Appendix C.

As already mentioned, exactly half of the boys in the sample had either already started work, or else had a job definitely fixed up for when they left school. Of the remainder, the vast majority were able to specify some occupation which they felt they would like to take up on leaving school. In cases where more than one occupation was specified, we asked the boys to say which was the main one at which they were aiming. Thus we have, for about 97% of the boys in the sample, a description of the occupation which they either had definitely arranged, or else hoped or intended, to take up.

In addition to the boys' descriptions of their intended occupations, it was also required to classify the answers given by boys, parents and Careers Officers to a whole range of questions about actual or hypothetical jobs. In some of these cases the informant's own ideas were not very precise or specific. Hence limits had to be set to the degree of detail and precision demanded by our system of occupational classification, so as to avoid having to reject a high proportion of answers as unclassifiable.

Another very relevant practical consideration was the range and variety of the occupations to be classified. The jobs to which the boys aspired cover every sphere and level of employment from trainee managers and professionals downwards, with the exception of jobs requiring experience or seniority, or to which a minimum age limit applies. Thus the range of different occupations is very large, in relation to the limited size of the sample. We were therefore faced with a choice between distinguishing a relatively large number of reasonably homogeneous occupational categories, many of which would contain very few cases, and distinguishing a smaller number of categories, each of which would contain a fair number of cases, but some of which would inevitably group together a number of different occupations.

In order to satisfy the requirements and deal with the problems outlined above, either of two approaches could be adopted. On the one hand, we could set about devising our own system of occupational classification "from scratch", while, on the other, we could base our approach on some comprehensive system already developed elsewhere. In the event, the second alternative was preferred, for reasons discussed in Appendix C. The frame for classification used in the initial coding of occupational data consisted of the Minor Groups which form part of the CODOT system, developed by the Manpower Research Unit of the Department of Employment. This system as a whole is extremely detailed and the Minor Groups, of which there are 73, correspond to what in everyday terms would be thought of as separate occupations.

Given the limitations of our sample and the nature of our analysis requirements, a 73-fold classification was still far too detailed for presentation and discussion. On the other hand, it still did not include one distinction which was deemed particularly important in the present context, namely, that between apprenticed and non-apprenticed occupations. Using information obtained at the interviews, we therefore subdivided certain manual occupations into "apprenticed" and "non-apprenticed", while at the same time combining many Minor Groups into broader categories. In this way we produced the classification referred to in what follows as CONCODOT 1, which distinguishes 29 occupational categories. For purposes of presentation, however, we most frequently use CONCODOT 2, which represents a further condensation to 15 categories, and the CODOT Status Groups, where the occupations mentioned are grouped into a fourfold "job status hierarchy". A detailed account of these manipulations is given in Appendix C, while evidence on the validity and relevance of the classifications used is provided by analyses presented in this and the following chapter.

6.3 CONCODOT 2 and Status Group classification of occupations obtained or sought by sample boys

We are now in a position to commence our analysis of occupational intentions by applying the methods of classification described above to the information provided by the school-leavers at Stage I of the study. Since the categories which we are using have been derived ad hoc by recombining CODOT Minor Groups in the manner just described, we shall initially proceed in a detailed way, drawing attention to various special features of the CONCODOT 2 and CODOT Status Group methods of classification.

Table 6.1(a) shows the distribution, in terms of the CONCODOT 2 categories, of the prospective jobs mentioned by the school-leavers in our main sample in the course of the Stage I interview. For this purpose, boys who had a job actually fixed up at the time of the interview are distinguished from those who referred to a job or type of work which they were seeking but had not yet obtained. In cases where boys in the second group expressed interest in more than one type of job, the main job being sought at the time of the interview is the one classified. Table 6.1(b) gives distributions of jobs fixed up and main jobs sought over the four CODOT Status Groups derived, as explained in the previous section, by combining CONCODOT 2 categories. The third and fourth columns of the tables show, respectively, the distributions for all jobs fixed up or sought by the boys and for all jobs held by the boys' fathers, by way of comparison.

The most striking differences are those shown in Table (b) between the status distributions of boys' and fathers' jobs. Broadly speaking, far more fathers' jobs (51%) than sons' jobs (22% overall) fell into Status Group IV, while far more sons' jobs than fathers' jobs fell into Status Groups II and III. By reference to the CONCODOT 2 distributions (Table (a)), we can characterize the main sources of these differences more precisely; more fathers' jobs than boys' jobs fell into categories 12, 13 and 14, while more boys' jobs than fathers' jobs fell into categories 2, 6, 7, 8 and 11. It is worth considering these discrepancies in detail.

Since two coal-mining areas are included in our sample, it seems certain that the difference on category 12 reflects the recent dramatic fall in recruitment to the coal industry. The boys were too young to obtain jobs as drivers, and this accounts for the discrepancy on category 14. The difference on category 13, which is not such a large one, may reflect a general downward trend in the demand for unskilled labour (and hence the level of recruitment to jobs of this kind).

Since we are here comparing percentage distributions, factors which produce a preponderance of fathers', compared with sons', jobs in certain categories automatically go some way towards explaining the balancing preponderance of sons' jobs in the remainder. In fact, when this purely arithmetical effect is allowed for, the discrepancies between proportions of fathers' and sons' jobs falling into Status Groups II and III virtually disappear, while the residual tendency is for slightly more fathers' than sons' jobs to fall into Status Group I. This is what we would expect, since men in their forties or fifties are more likely to be found in managerial positions (other things being equal) than are school-leavers.

At the more detailed level, however, there still appears to be a tendency

Table 6.1(a) Comparison of distributions of fathers' jobs, boys' jobs fixed up and boys' main jobs sought over the CONCODOT 2 categories

CONCODOT 2 CATEGORIES	Boy's job fixed up	Boy's main job sought	All boys' jobs		All fathers' jobs
	%	%	%		%
1. Technical, scientific, professional and managerial workers	4	6	5		7
2. Clerical, literary and aesthetic workers	7	9	8		3
3. Salesmen, roundsmen, catering and other service workers	10	5	8		10
4. Armed Forces, police, firemen	6	4	5		3
5. Skilled metal-manufacturing, engineering and printing workers	13	8	10		8
6. Electrical workers	6	15	10		3
7. Motor mechanics etc.	7	11	9		2
8. Welders, plumbers etc.; painters	8	15	11		6
9. Unskilled metal workers	4	2	3		3
10. Non-metal manufacturing workers	8	3	6		8
11. Woodworkers	7	7	7		3
12. Building and civil engineering workers; miners	3	5	4		18
13. Labourers, storekeepers, packagers, porters etc.	5	3	4		9
14. Drivers, conductors etc. postal and communications workers	2	2	2		11
15. Farmers and agricultural workers	6	2	4		3
Answer not classifiable	3	3	3	%	4
All who mentioned a job	100	100	100	97	100
All with no job in mind				3	
TOTAL	100	100		100	100
Bases (reweighted)	860	825		1728	1647

Table 6.1(b) Comparison of distributions of fathers' jobs, boys' jobs fixed up and boys' main jobs sought over the CODOT Job Status categories

CODOT STATUS CATEGORIES	Boy's job fixed up	Boy's main job sought	All boys' jobs		All fathers' jobs
	%	%	%		%
I Managerial, clerical, technical etc.	11	16	13		10
II Forces, police, skilled engineering and electrical trades etc.	26	27	26		14
III Salesmen, mechanics, welders, painters, woodworkers etc.	33	38	35		21
IV Labourers, storekeepers, non-skilled factory workers etc.	28	17	22		51
Answer not classifiable	3	3	3	%	4
All who mentioned a job	100	100	100	97	100
All with no job in mind				3	
TOTAL	100	100		100	100
Bases (reweighted)	860	825	1728		1647

for certain of the types of occupation assigned to Status Groups II and III to be especially popular amongst the boys, as opposed to the fathers. Outstanding in this respect are occupations in categories 6, 7 and 8. It is noticeable that, in each of these cases, the discrepancy is largely due to the high proportion of boys who hoped to obtain such jobs. It is possible that a higher-than-average proportion of boys who hoped to become electricians, mechanics, welders, painters etc. were doomed to disappointment, but we cannot be certain of this until details of first jobs actually started are available for comparison.

The most important conclusion to emerge from the results so far is that it is not really meaningful to compare the jobs of school-leavers with those of much older men in terms of any single scale or classification. The effects of age, career-stage, status-differentiation and secular changes in the labour market interact with each other in complex ways and thus confound such comparisons. The classification into four CODOT Status Groups - and indeed, the whole CONCODOT 2 approach to occupational classification - was developed with the special characteristics of the school-leavers' sample primarily in mind and its main usefulness lies in its application to that sample. In the case of fathers' and other family members' occupations we have tended, for most analytic purposes, to rely upon various derivatives of the SEG classification, on the grounds that this is a more appropriate and well-understood method of measuring occupational status in the case of adults.

Returning now to Tables 6.1, we still have to consider the comparisons which can be made between the distributions of jobs actually fixed up and jobs merely sought or hoped for. Looking first at the Status Group distribution (Table 6.1(b)) it can be seen that there is a general tendency for jobs sought to be rather higher in status than jobs fixed up. A number of different interpretations of this finding suggest themselves. For example, it may be that boys who get their jobs fixed up relatively early (i.e., in this case, before the Stage I interview) aspire rather lower, in terms of occupational status, than those who are more tardy in this respect. Indeed, it could be that boys who are willing to settle for a lower-status occupation find it easier to get a job fixed up (see Chapter VII below). On the other hand, it is quite likely that certain boys had been offered higher-status jobs on condition that they passed their GCE or CSE examinations. Since many examination results were not available at the time of the Stage I interview, this would mean that jobs requiring examination qualifications - that is, higher-status jobs - tended not to be definitely "fixed up", but only "sought", at the time of the interview.

It will be evident that the relationships between the nature of the occupation aspired to, the boy's academic and other characteristics and the amount of progress made towards securing a job of the desired type are likely to be complex. For this reason a full consideration of the issues raised is postponed until Chapter VII of the report. As regards the more immediate question of whether or not "jobs fixed up" and "jobs sought" may be treated as comparable, the reader is asked to suspend judgement until Section 6.7 below, where the available evidence on this point will be reviewed.

6.4 Relationships between academic characteristics and type of job aimed at

We have so far described the development of methods of occupational classification for the purposes of the present study and the overall distributions which result when they are applied to the details of jobs obtained or sought by boys in the sample. We now turn to the question of what factors determine, or are associated with, individual differences in the type of job aimed at. As in previous chapters, we look first at the effects of academic characteristics.

Tables 6.2 (a) and (b) give the distributions over the CONCODOT 2 and CODOT Status categories respectively of the jobs aimed at by leavers from different types of secondary school. The general pattern of the results conforms to expectations and can most easily be appreciated by looking at percentage

Table 6.2(a) CONCODOT 2 distribution of jobs aimed at by sample boys, analysed by type of secondary school attended

CONCODOT 2 CATEGORY	TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL			
	Grammar/ Technical	Com- prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
1. Technical, scientific, professional and managerial workers	11	6	4	5
2. Clerical, literary and aesthetic workers	17	10	6	8
3. Salesmen, roundsmen, catering and other service workers	8	6	8	7
4. Armed Forces, police, firemen	7	5	5	6
5. Skilled metal-manufacturing, engineering and printing workers	13	9	10	10
6. Electrical workers	15	12	8	10
7. Motor mechanics etc.	5	8	9	9
8. Welders, plumbers etc.; painters	2	10	13	11
9. Unskilled metal workers	1	3	3	3
10. Non-metal manufacturing workers	2	4	7	6
11. Woodworkers	4	8	7	7
12. Building and civil engineering workers; miners	0	3	4	4
13. Labourers, storekeepers, packagers, porters etc.	2	4	4	4
14. Drivers, conductors etc; postal and communications workers	2	3	2	2
15. Farmers and agricultural workers	4	2	5	4
Answer not classifiable	4	2	3	3
All who mentioned a job	97	97	98	97
All with no job in mind	3	3	2	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	189	384	1155	1728

Table 6.2(b) CODOT Status Group distribution of jobs aimed at by sample boys, analysed by type of secondary school attended

CODOT STATUS GROUP	TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
I Managerial, clerical, technical etc.	26	16	9	13
II Forces, police, skilled engineering and electrical trades etc.	35	27	24	25
III Salesmen, mechanics, welders, painters, woodworkers etc.	19	34	37	34
IV Labourers, storekeepers, non-skilled factory workers etc.	11	20	25	22
Answer not classifiable	4	2	3	3
All who mentioned a job	97	97	98	97
All with no job in mind	3	3	2	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	189	384	1155	1728

trends within the four Status Groups. Jobs in Status Groups I and II were most frequently aimed at by leavers from grammar and technical schools and least frequently by leavers from secondary modern schools, while for jobs in Status Groups III and IV the trend is reversed. In every case, the figure for leavers from comprehensive schools is intermediate between that for grammar and technical school leavers, on the one hand, and that for secondary modern school leavers, on the other.

Each of the four Status Groups was, of course, formed by combining certain CONCODOT 2 categories. Thus, Group I contains categories 1 and 2; Group II contains categories 4-6; Group III contains categories 3, 7, 8 and 11 and Group IV contains categories 9, 10 and 12-15. If the percentage trends are now examined category by category, it will be found that there are only two cases where the difference between grammar/technical school leavers and secondary modern school leavers is not in the same direction as in the Status Group within which the category is contained. In these two cases (categories 3 and 14) the grammar/technical and secondary modern figures are the same, so it can be said that the Status Group trends are never reversed when the Groups are split into their constituent categories. This shows that the type of secondary school attended is associated primarily with the status of the first job aimed at, rather than with its precise activity-content or any other obvious aspect of it.

Of the two CONCODOT 2 categories which did not show a grammar/technical - secondary modern trend in Table 6.2(a), the larger is category 3, which consists mainly of retail salesmen and roundsmen. The coding system which we used did not permit these occupations to be separated, but detailed examination of evidence from a number of sources within the Stage 1 material (see, for example, Section 5.2) strongly suggests that a distinction needs to be made, at least where school-leavers jobs are concerned. In this context, "roundsman" is much the same thing as "van boy", which many informants clearly regarded as an archetypal low-status, "dead-end" job and which should therefore have been assigned to Status Group IV. On the other hand, at least some informants saw the "junior salesman" type of job as having much higher status and better prospects, so that jobs so described should probably have been placed in Status Group II. Unfortunately, the results had already been processed before the importance of this distinction was realized and CONCODOT 2 category 3 consequently contains a mixture of the two types of job. It is probably for this reason that it fails to produce consistent trends in Table 6.2 and those that follow.

The classification by type of secondary school attended is, of course, highly confounded with that by whether, and at what level, examinations were sat. Tables 6.3 show the relationship between the latter variable and the type and status of the job aimed at. A more detailed classification of examinations sat has been used than in most previous analyses. Let us first consider the broad pattern of results, before examining some of the more specific relationships which the analysis reveals.

If we look first at the distributions of jobs aimed at over the four Status Groups (Table 6.3(b)), it can be seen that there are two major divisions within the table. On the one hand, jobs in Groups I-II should be distinguished from jobs in Groups III-IV (cf. Table 6.5); on the other hand, leavers who had sat at least some subjects at CSE or GCE are clearly quite different, as regards their choice of job, from boys who had sat neither examination (i.e., in practice, from 15-year-old leavers). Within the four groups of examination candidates distinguished in the table, the proportion of boys aiming at jobs in Groups I-II ranged from 63% to 83%, whereas amongst 15-year-old leavers it was only 24%. Conversely, 72% of the 15-year-old leavers were aiming at jobs in Groups III-IV, as against 7%-30% amongst the 16-year-olds. As might be expected, therefore, the level of aspiration of boys who had stayed on to sit examinations is very markedly higher than that of boys who had elected to leave at 15.

Over and above these large and basic differences, the job-status analysis shows that there is a definite trend within the 16-year-old segment of the sample for boys sitting a combination of GCE and CSE subjects to aspire higher than boys sitting CSE only. The highest-aspiring group of all is that consisting of boys who had sat at least five subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as one or more subjects at CSE. However, the group of boys who had sat subjects at "O" Level only aspired much lower, on average, than might have been predicted on the basis of the trend running across the other four groups. This interesting and unexpected finding may well represent the effects of a clash between the influence of the home and that of the school upon occupational aspirations. The vast majority of the "GCE only" group had been pupils at grammar of technical schools, many of which virtually ignored the CSE option and entered all fifth

Table 6.3(a) CONCODOT 2 distribution of jobs aimed at by sample boys, analysed by level of examinations boy sat.

CONCODOT 2 CATEGORY	LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT					
	GCE only	Mainly GCE	Mainly CSE	CSE only	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Technical, scientific, professional and managerial workers	16	32	12	9	1	5
2. Clerical, literary and aesthetic workers	17	22	22	15	3	8
3. Salesmen, roundsmen, catering and other service workers	7	0	3	7	9	7
4. Armed Forces, police, firemen	6	8	10	5	5	6
5. Skilled metal-manufacturing, engineering and printing workers	14	4	18	16	7	10
6. Electrical workers	14	17	12	17	7	10
7. Motor mechanics etc.	4	2	4	5	11	9
8. Welders, plumbers etc.; painters	*	0	4	7	15	11
9. Unskilled metal workers	4	0	1	2	3	3
10. Non-metal manufacturing workers	0	1	1	3	8	6
11. Woodworkers	2	1	2	2	9	7
12. Building and civil engineering workers; miners	1	0	0	1	5	4
13. Labourers, storekeepers, packagers, porters etc.	4	0	1	2	4	4
14. Drivers, conductors etc.; postal and communications workers	3	1	*	1	3	2
15. Farmers and agricultural workers	2	2	3	2	5	4
Answer not classifiable	4	9	6	4	2	3
All who mentioned a job	99	99	99	98	97	97
All with no job in mind	1	1	1	2	3	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	98	56	176	256	1143	1729

Table 6.3(b) CODOT Status Group distribution of jobs aimed at by sample boys, analysed by level of examinations boy sat

CODOT STATUS GROUP	LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT					
	GCE only	Mainly GCE	Mainly CSE	CSE only	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
I Managerial, clerical technical etc.	34	54	34	25	4	13
II Forces, police, skilled engineering and electrical trades etc.	34	29	40	38	20	25
III Salesmen, mechanics, welders, painters, woodworkers etc.	13	3	13	19	44	34
IV Labourers, storekeepers, non-skilled factory workers etc.	14	4	6	11	28	22
Answer not classifiable	4	9	6	4	2	3
All who mentioned a job	99	99	99	98	97	97
All with no job in mind	1	1	1	2	3	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	98	56	176	256	1143	1729

year pupils for GCE "O" Level only. In other words, by entering selective schools these boys had committed themselves to a type of education which was "academic" in its aims and assumptions. However, the very fact that they fell within our sample shows that they were unwilling or unable to enter the sixth form, which is the normal consummation of an "academic" secondary education. A clue to this aberrant behaviour is provided by the finding that only 29% of the "GCE only" group had fathers in non-manual or supervisory occupations, as compared with, for example, 42% of the "Mainly GCE" group. We have already seen that lower social class is strongly related to early school-leaving (see Section 3.2) and later in this chapter of the report we shall show that it is also associated, overall, with a lower level of occupational aspiration (as measured by the status of the job aimed at). It therefore appears that both the (relatively) early school-leaving and the (relatively) low occupational aspirations of the "GCE only" group may represent aspects of a persisting syndrome characteristic of working-class boys at selective secondary schools.

Most of the variation in type of job aimed at which appears in Table 6.3(a) can be accounted for in terms of the broad job-status dimension already discussed. However, consideration of the results at the level of individual CONCODOT 2 categories does provide a few additional insights. For example, it can be seen that it is the tendency to aim at jobs in category 1 (i.e. technical, professional, scientific and managerial jobs) which most clearly distinguishes boys in the "Mainly GCE" group from the rest. These were boys in whom their schools had, in effect, expressed confidence by entering them for mainly GCE, rather than mainly or wholly CSE, examinations. This may well be part of the explanation for their relatively high level of aspiration. At the opposite extreme, the jobs which were especially popular amongst 15-year-old leavers were those in categories 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12. It is interesting that these categories include mainly what might be called the "mainstream" manual jobs, such as mechanical work, painting, plumbing, welding, bricklaying, woodworking etc., many of which involve apprenticeship or the like and would therefore be formally classed as "skilled". On the other hand, jobs in the almost entirely "non-skilled" categories 9, 13 and 14 were at least as likely to be aimed at by the "GCE only" as by the "Neither GCE nor CSE" group. This may be a hint that the premature leavers from grammar and technical schools, who were discussed in the last paragraph, do not merely drop out of the race for academic honours and high-status, non-manual employment, but actually tend to enter jobs which are at the bottom of even the manual status-hierarchy. It will be interesting to reconsider this possibility in the light of data from Stages II and III of the enquiry.

The above discussion, while interesting in its detailed implications, has been complicated by the necessity to take account of peculiarities of the present sample and, in particular, of the sub-sample of leavers from grammar and technical schools. Lest this should obscure or distract attention from the main findings, the job-status analysis presented in Table 6.3(b) has been repeated, this time for leavers from secondary modern schools only. For this purpose it is only possible to distinguish three levels of examination candidacy, and one of the three groups is still rather small. Nevertheless, the results are quite clear-cut, as can be seen from Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 shows that almost half of the "Wholly or mainly GCE" group of secondary modern leavers, as against only 3% of the non-examination candidates, were aiming at jobs in Status Group I. Jobs in Status Group 2 were much more popular amongst the "Wholly or mainly CSE" group than amongst either of the other two groups, while jobs in Status Groups III and IV were most popular amongst non-examination candidates (i.e. 15-year-old leavers). Once again, however, it is interesting to find that as many as 20% of the "Wholly or mainly GCE" candidates, compared with only 10% of the "Wholly or mainly CSE" group, were aiming at jobs in Status Group IV. A more detailed analysis of the data shows that this is not a quirk of our job-status classification, but seems to be a genuine case of relatively able boys accepting jobs at a level which is well below their potential. Another peculiar feature of this sub-sample is the high proportion (12%, as compared with 3% overall) who mentioned jobs, but described them in a way which was not classifiable in CODOT terms. The main reason for this proves, on further investigation, to be that they tended to refer in vague terms to the type of job which they hoped to get (but had not yet obtained). These findings seem to suggest that relatively able and well-qualified leavers from secondary modern schools often find themselves in a situation of con-

Table 6.4 CODOT Status of job aimed at, analysed by level of examinations sat, for leavers from secondary modern schools only

CODOT STATUS GROUP	Wholly or mainly GCE[+]	Wholly or mainly CSE[o]	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
I Managerial, clerical, technical, etc.	49	28	3	9
II Forces, police, skilled engineering and electrical trades etc.	15	38	20	24
III Salesmen, mechanics, welders, painters, woodworkers etc.	4	19	44	37
IV Labourers, storekeepers, non-skilled factory workers etc.	20	10	29	24
Answer not classifiable	12	5	2	3
All with no job in mind	*	*	3	2
Total (all secondary modern leavers)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	34	254	867	1155

[+] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat at least 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

[o] Sat at least 1 subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

flict and uncertainty as regards vocational choice.

It might be thought that, once a boy has moved out of the school environment and into the employment market, "visible" qualifications, in the shape of passes at GCE or grades at CSE, are likely to have a stronger and more direct effect upon his vocational plans and prospects than is his "invisible" academic potential, as perceived and rated by his teachers. However, the results shown in Tables 6.5 prove that this is not so.

The analysis by Status Group in Table 6.5(b) produces a series of trends of striking regularity. The proportion of boys aiming at jobs in Status Group I increases smoothly with level of academic potential, as rated by the teacher, and the trend for Status Group II is very similar, though not quite as steep. For Status Groups III and IV there is an equally marked and regular trend in the opposite direction. In comparing these results with

Table 6.5(a) CONCODOT 2 distribution of jobs aimed at by sample boys, analysed by rated level of academic potential

	RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING -					
CONCODOT 2 CATEGORY	4 or more subjects at GCE	1-3 subjects at GCE	3 or more subjects at CSE	1 or 2 subjects at CSE	Less able	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Technical, scientific, professional and managerial workers	23	11	5	1	0	5
2. Clerical, literary and aesthetic workers	16	17	9	5	1	8
3. Salesmen, roundsmen, catering and other service workers	2	9	8	4	10	7
4. Armed Forces, police, firemen	7	7	7	7	2	6
5. Skilled metal-manufacturing, engineering and printing workers	14	13	13	9	4	9
6. Electrical workers	14	17	13	7	4	10
7. Motor mechanics etc.	2	7	8	12	11	9
8. Welders, plumbers etc. painters	2	3	8	17	17	11
9. Unskilled metal workers	2	0	2	3	4	2
10. Non-metal manufacturing workers	1	1	4	7	9	5
11. Woodworkers	3	2	10	11	7	7
12. Building and civel engineering workers; miners	1	1	2	2	9	4
13. Labourers, storekeepers, packagers, porters etc.	2	3	2	3	6	4
14. Drivers, conductors etc.	1	1	2	3	3	2
15. Farmers and agricultural workers	3	1	6	3	5	4
Answer not classifiable	6	5	*	4	2	3
All who mentioned a job	100	99	99	99	95	97
All with no job in mind	*	1	1	1	5	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	153	260	327	344	493	1576

Table 6.5(b) CODOT Status Group distribution of jobs aimed at by sample boys, analysed by rated level of academic potential

CODOT STATUS GROUP	RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING –					
	4 or more subjects at GCE	1-3 subjects at GCE	3 or more subjects at CSE	1 or 2 subjects at CSE	Less able	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
I Managerial, clerical, technical etc.	39	28	14	5	2	13
II Forces, police, skilled engineering and electrical trades etc.	36	37	33	24	10	25
III Salesmen, mechanics, welders, painters, woodworkers etc.	9	21	34	44	45	35
IV Labourers, storekeepers, non-skilled factory workers etc.	9	8	18	22	36	22
Answers not classifiable	6	5	*	4	2	3
All who mentioned a job	100	99	99	99	95	97
All with no job in mind	*	1	11	1	5	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	153	260	327	344	493	1576

the corresponding figures in Table 6.3(b) it should be remembered that the distribution of the Academic Rating variable is far more even than that of Examinations Sat, which is very heavily skewed. Hence the predictive or discriminative power of Academic Rating in distinguishing boys according to the status-level of the job aimed at is considerably greater, overall, than that of Examinations Sat.

Turning now to the more detailed analysis by CONCODOT 2 categories in Table 6.5(a), it can be seen that the difference between the boys rated capable of passing 4 or more subjects at GCE and the next most able group is attributable mainly to the fact that the former tend much more to aim at technical, scientific, professional and managerial types of job, but are much less interested in retail selling and delivery jobs (which is what category 3 mainly consists of) or in mechanical work. At the opposite end of the scale, the categories of employment which attracted the least able boys more than the rest were non-skilled factory work (categories 9 and 10), building, mining (category 12) and other unskilled or labouring jobs (category 13).

The results shown in Tables 6.5 thus accord very closely with the general theory that boys categorized as academically able by their teachers tend to find their way into high-status non-manual or "elite manual" occupations, whereas those categorized as academically weak tend to find their way into low-status and especially non-skilled manual work. The prediction of job-level by means of academic rating is, of course, far from perfect, but the correlation between the two variables is nevertheless a strong one by the standards of this type of predictive exercise. Feelings may vary about the desirability of further increasing the efficiency of the "meritocratic" sorting process, mediated by the secondary educational system, which these findings presumably reflect. However, some puzzles remain about how the sorting process actually works.

The basic question which remains to be answered is, what forms the link between the teacher's opinion of the boy's academic capabilities, as confidentially communicated to us for the purposes of the present study, and the boy's own vocational preferences or decisions and his success or failure in obtaining a higher or lower-status job, as the case may be. Several different hypotheses may be advanced to account for this linkage.

Perhaps the most obvious hypothesis is that the sorting is effectively done by employers, using cues or information provided by the educational system. There can be no doubt at all that, for some jobs at least, employers do attach value to educational qualifications and choose between applicants partly on the basis of these. The relationship between the level of examinations sat and the nature and status of the job aimed at, as shown in Tables 6.3, no doubt owes much, either directly or indirectly, to employers' policies of selection on the basis of examination results. Furthermore, it must be remembered that our classification in terms of GCE and CSE subjects sat does not cover the full range of educational information which is often available to the prospective employer. Even where the job-applicant is a 15-year-old leaver, the employer may often have access to school reports or the results of school (i.e. non-public) examinations, or he may go on what the boy says about his school performance. Thus Tables 6.5 may not do full justice to the extent to which employers' selection is influenced by academic achievement. Since school reports etc. largely reflect teachers' opinions, this is tantamount to saying that, in some cases at least, employers may, in effect, have access to the informtion contained in our Teachers' Academic Ratings. The efficiency of employer selection by ability would thereby be increased.

On the other hand, of course, employer selection, taken in the literal sense, is not the only, or even the main, factor which tends to produce the "match" between ability-level and job-status documented in Tables 6.3 - 6.5. The applicants for a given job-vacancy will never constitute a cross-section of the full range of academic ability, even if they are school-leavers with no direct experience of the world of employment. It is not so much that barely literate 15-year-old leavers apply for (trainee) managerial or professional jobs and are rejected, as that they seldom apply in the first place. This may, indeed, be because they assume that they would be rejected if they did apply. However, there is reason to suppose that many individuals do not set their level of occupational aspiration in any very rational or conscious way, having regard to the range of opportunities actually available. It is rather that the history and development of their vocational thinking is such that it simply never occurs to them to aspire to a job above - or below - some given level. In fact, one of the major problems of vocational guidance is that of altering such ingrained assumptions and habits of mind, where this seems necessary or appropriate, so as to induce the individual to consider a range of occupations which he or she had hitherto automatically rejected. This being so, one of the tasks of the present analysis is to try to throw some light on the nature and workings of the mechanisms whereby boys self-select themselves for occupations of a given status or level.

Looked at from this point of view, the results in Tables 6.5 might be interpreted in either or both of two ways. In the first place, it could be that the disposition to aspire relatively high in vocational terms is actually a part of that syndrome of personal characteristics which teachers regard as indicative of high academic potential. At all events, it is scarcely surprising that academic ability, diligence and success (which is what the teachers were ostensibly rating) should be associated with a generally high level of aspiration. The implied argument here is that those who know or feel themselves to be (academically) successful will (justifiably) tend to aspire higher in vocational terms, while the opposite applies to those who are academically unsuccessful. But how do school-leavers (particularly those who have sat no external examinations) gauge their own level of academic success? School life provides plenty of clues on this point, but most of them depend ultimately on teachers' opinions. There is thus a possibility that teachers' opinions of boys' academic potential actually function to some extent as causal factors in determining each boy's level of vocational, as well as academic, aspiration.

6.5 Relationships between work orientations and type of job aimed at

At the end of the last section, the focus of our discussion moved from the question of which boys aspire to particular types of job to the more analytic issue of why some boys aspire higher, in terms of occupational status, than others. Looked at from this point of view, measures of the boys' academic characteristics proved to be rather powerful statistical predictors of the status of the job aimed at, but there was some doubt as to exactly how these academic factors influenced the psychological process by which individual levels of aspiration are determined.

Now, we have available two direct measures of the boys' psychological orientation to employment, namely, the WCO and IO scales. It was shown in Chapter V of the report that scores on these scales were closely associated with the boy's level of academic ability. Moreover, the White Collar Orientation scale appears, on the basis of its item content, to be a fairly direct index of the psychological disposition to aspire high or low in occupational terms. It therefore seems likely that the psychological variable measured by this scale represents a link between academic achievement or potential, on the one hand, and actual occupational intentions, on the other. In order to establish that this is a consistent interpretation, it

Table 6.6 Relationship between scores on the Work Orientation scales and CODOT Status of the job aimed at

	(a) WCO SCALE SCORE						
	0–2	3–4	5–6	7	8	9	Total
CODOT STATUS GROUP	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
I Managerial, clerical, technical etc.	4	3	6	13	25	56	13
II Forces, police, skilled engineering and electrical trades etc.	2	10	29	35	39	24	25
III Salesmen, mechanics, welders, painters, woodworkers etc.	37	47	40	31	20	12	34
IV Labourers, storekeepers, non-skilled factory workers etc.	49	34	21	16	9	2	22
Answer not classifiable	3	2	2	3	5	6	3
All with no job in mind	6	3	2	2	2	0	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	166	294	571	329	230	139	1729

	(b) IO SCALE SCORE						
	0	1	2	3	4	5–6	Total
CODOT STATUS GROUP	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
I Managerial, clerical, technical etc.	15	14	15	15	12	5	13
II Forces, police, skille engineering and electrical trades etc.	35	37	28	24	19	14	25
III Salesmen, mechanics, welders, painters, woodworkers etc.	32	28	31	36	37	41	34
IV Labourers, storekeepers, non-skilled factory workers etc.	16	15	20	22	26	30	22
Answer not classifiable	2	4	3	3	2	4	3
All with no job in mind	0	1	2	0	4	7	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	108	237	442	411	309	221	1728

is necessary to show that scale scores are strong predictors of the status-level of the job aimed at. The results of an analysis on these lines are presented in Tables 6.6.

In these tables a rather more detailed breakdown of scores on the WCO and IO scales has been used than in earlier analyses involving these variables, so as to show more clearly the relationship between scale scores and job status-level. In the case of the WCO scale (Table 6.6(a)), this relationship is clearly in accordance with prediction; the higher the scale score, the higher the status of the job aimed at. We may provisionally conclude, therefore, that the boys perceived a status-hierarchy amongst the jobs potentially available to them; that this perceived status-hierarchy tended to be similar for all or most of the boys in the sample and corresponds approximately to our classification by CODOT Status Groups; and that general preference for jobs of higher or lower status (as measured by scores on the WCO scale) was important in determining the boys' actual choice of a job to aim at.

The relationship between scores on the IO scale and the status of the job aimed at is shown, for comparison, in Table 6.6(b). The relationship here is less clear-cut, though still highly significant. The direction of the main underlying association is best seen by adding, for each column of the table, the figures for Status Groups I and II and those for Status Groups III and IV. It then becomes clear that there is a systematic tendency for low scorers on the IO scale to aim at higher-status jobs and vice-versa. The main reason why this relationship is not more clearly apparent at first glance is that scores on the IO scale serve to distinguish boys aiming at jobs in Status Group I rather less clearly than boys aiming at jobs in Status Group II. This may be because our sub-sample of aspirants to Group I jobs is not fully representative of all boys who aspire to such jobs, since sixth form leavers and boys undertaking higher education, who must fill many of the jobs at this level, are excluded.

Our general interpretation of these results is that the basic psychological orientations to employment measured by the IO and - especially - the WCO scales determine or, at any rate, circumscribe, the status-level of the actual job at which the boy elects to aim. These psychological orientations are thus seen as a link between factors in the boys' academic (and also in their home) backgrounds and their specific vocational intentions.

However, as was remarked in the introduction to Chapter V, a different interpretation of the observed relationships is possible, namely, that work orientations as measured in the enquiry, rather than determining or conditioning the boy's choice of job, are themselves determined or influenced by it. In other words, it could be argued that, in answering the questions upon which the work orientation scales are based, the boys merely tended to rationalize job-decisions already made on some other basis.

Because the Stage I interviews were carried out at a time when most of the boys had a fairly definite idea of what their first job was to be, it is difficult to prove conclusively that work orientation scores represent a genuine causal link in the process whereby occupational aims are set, rather than being a mere psychological by-product or after-effect of the decision-making process. However, one piece of evidence which seems to favour the former interpretation is the fact (more fully discussed in Section 6.7 below) that the correlation between scores on the WCO scale and the status-level of jobs definitely fixed up was almost identical with the correlation between WCO scores and the status-level of jobs sought, but not yet fixed up. If orientations to work were strongly influenced by vocational decisions already made, we might have expected to find a more marked association in cases where the occupational die had definitely been cast (i.e. where a job had been fixed up) than in cases where the issue was still to some extent open.

6.6 Relationships between home background factors and type of job aimed at

On the basis of a number of results and analyses already described, we might expect to find a connection between certain aspects of the boys' home

Table 6.7 Relationship between father's socio-economic status and CODOT Status of the job boy is aiming at

FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP		CODOT STATUS GROUP				Answer unclass-ifiable	All with no job in mind	Total	Base (rewtd)
		I	II	III	IV				
Employers and managers	%	19	25	31	23	2	1	100	147
Professional and intermediate non-manual workers	%	20	40	34	2	4	1	100	47
Junior non-manual workers	%	21	36	31	5	3	4	100	103
Foremen and super-visors (manual)	%	22	26	30	17	4	1	100	103
Skilled manual workers	%	13	26	33	22	3	3	100	659
Personal service and non-professional own-account workers	%	7	23	36	29	3	1	100	74
Semi-skilled manual workers	%	10	22	40	24	3	2	100	308
Unskilled manual workers	%	9	18	34	36	1	3	100	108
Armed Forces	%	13	27	48	3	6	2	100	21
Indefinite/no answer	%	4	33	28	20	6	9	100	74
All non-manual, fore-men and supervisors	%	20	30	31	14	3	2	100	400
All skilled manual		13	26	33	22	3	3	100	659
All non-skilled manual, non-prof. own account and personal service	%	9	21	38	27	3	2	100	489
TOTAL	%	13	26	34	21	3	3	100	1647

and family backgrounds and environments and the type or level of job at which they were aiming at Stage I. For example, we have seen (Sections 5.8-10) that home background factors are strong predictors of boys' general psychological orientations to employment, which in turn (Tables 6.6) are closely linked to occupational intentions. It would therefore be surprising if there were no statistical relationship between, for example, the socio-economic and educational status of family members and the type of job aimed at by the boy.

Table 6.7 shows the relationship between the father's socio-economic status, as indicated by the condensed form of the standard SEG classification previously used, and the status of the job which his son had either fixed up, or was aiming at, when interviewed at Stage I. The sons' jobs have been classified in terms of the four Status Groups formed by condensing CODOT categories, as explained earlier in this chapter. For the purpose of the summary rows at the bottom of the table, the classification of fathers' jobs has been further condensed to three categories (excluding cases where the father was a member of the Armed Forces or where he could not be assigned to a definite occupational category).

The basic trend of the results is most easily seen by comparing the distributions of sons' jobs within the three summary rows. As elsewhere, the picture is clearest when the percentages in Status Groups I and II and those in Status Groups III and IV are combined. It will be seen that 50% of sons of non-manual and supervisory workers, 39% of sons of skilled manual workers and 27% of sons of unskilled workers were aiming at jobs in Groups I and II. The trend, though not overwhelming, is clear and consistent and the result confirms those of many other studies (as well as common observation). The more detailed breakdown given in the rest of the table shows that the proportion of boys aiming at Group I-II jobs rises to 60% amongst sons of professional and intermediate non-manual workers and falls to 27% amongst sons of unskilled manual workers.

It would be unsafe to rest any general conclusions about inter-generational continuities in occupational status upon these results, since our sample does not represent a complete cross-section of the population and we are not in a position to interrelate the occupations of fathers and sons at equivalent stages in their respective careers. Nevertheless, it is clear that, for this particular segment of the school-leaving population, the occupational status of the father does exert a significant influence upon the occupational aspirations of the son.

Now, it is at least plausible to account for this effect by supposing that the son tends to take the father's job as an example or precedent in setting his own level of occupational aspiration. If this is so, we might expect to find that the jobs of other employed male family-members also exert a similar influence. This hypothesis is confirmed by the results shown in Table 6.8 which embodies a typology taking account of the occupational status of the boy's father and his employed brothers (if any).

Looking first at the three summary rows at the bottom of the table, it will be noted that the distributions here are very similar to the corresponding distributions in Table 6.7. In other words, the presence of at least one non-manual or supervisory worker in the family, for example, produces an effect upon the boy's level of aspiration very similar to the effect of having a father who is a non-manual or supervisory worker. However, when

Table 6.8 Relationship between occupational status of employed male family members and CODOT Status of job boy is aiming at

FAMILY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS TYPOLOGY		CODOT STATUS GROUP OF JOB AIMED AT				Answer unclassifiable	All with no job in mind	Total	Base (rewtd)
		I	II	III	IV				
No employed brothers, father is a non-manual[+] worker	%	20	30	30	15	4	1	100	244
Father and brother(s) are all non-manual workers	%	29	34	27	7	3	1	100	78
Family comprises non-manual and skilled manual workers	%	14	31	29	23	1	1	100	83
Family comprises non-manual and non-skilled[o] workers, with or without skilled workers	%	14	21	30	27	1	7	100	89
No employed brothers, father is a skilled manual worker	%	15	28	31	19	4	2	100	374
Father and brother(s) are skilled manual workers	%	9	22	41	18	4	7	100	152
Family comprises skilled manual and non-skilled workers	%	7	16	36	37	2	1	100	196
No employed brothers, father is a non-skilled worker	%	10	27	37	24	2	1	100	257
Father and brother(s) are non-skilled workers	%	6	13	49	23	6	4	100	107
Family includes at least 1 non-manual worker	%	19	29	29	17	3	2	100	494
Family includes at least 1 skilled manual worker	%	12	25	34	24	3	3	100	845
Family includes at least 1 non-skilled worker	%	9	20	38	28	2	3	100	648
TOTAL	%	13	26	34	21	3	3	100	1580

[+] Includes manual foremen and supervisors

[o] Includes personal service and non-professional own-account workers

we look in more detail at the occupational composition of the family some significant differences do appear. As with other tables in this chapter of the report, the effect is best seen by comparing percentages of boys who were aiming at jobs in Status Groups I or II.

Of boys from families where the father was the only employed male member and was a non-manual or supervisory worker, 50% were aiming at jobs in Groups I-II. Where several family-members were employed, all in non-manual or supervisory jobs, this proportion rose to 63%. Where the family contained non-manual or supervisory worker(s) and skilled manual worker(s) only, the proportion was 45%, while the presence of at least one non-skilled worker, as well as non-manual or supervisory worker(s), brought it down to 35%. Compared with the pattern of results shown, for example, in Table 5.11, the fact that the second of the proportions given is higher than the first is slightly anomalous. However, the "expected" pattern duly shows itself in the remainder of the table. Thus, of boys from families where the father was the only employed male member and was a skilled manual worker, 43% were aiming at jobs in Status Groups I or II. Where several family-members were employed, all in skilled manual jobs, the proportion was 31% and where there were non-skilled as well as skilled workers it was 23%. Finally, of boys from families where the father only was employed and was a non-skilled worker, 37% were aiming at jobs in Groups I-II, compared with only 19% in cases where both father and brother(s) were non-skilled workers.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of these results is revealed when we limit the comparison to families with more than one employed male which were, respectively, "solidly non-manual/supervisory", "solidly skilled manual" and "solidly non-skilled". For these three cases the proportions of boys aiming at jobs in Status Groups I or II were 63%, 31% and 19%. It is possible that this extreme contrast has been somewhat heightened by random sampling fluctuations, but there can be no doubt that the basic hypothesis, namely, that the cumulative weight of family occupational precedents and examples significantly affected the boys' level of occupational aspiration, is amply supported by this analysis. (It should, perhaps, be added, however, that alternative explanations of the results are possible. For example, it could be argued that a family in which several members are employed in non-skilled jobs is likely to be low in innate ability and that it is lack of ability, rather than lack of example or precedent, which prevents boys from such families from aspiring to higher-status jobs. On the whole, it seems likely that several different causal mechanisms are at work in the majority of cases).

Table 6.9 shows the relationship between family educational background and the status-level of the job at which the boy was aiming. As explained in Section 3.4, this analysis can only be applied to cases where the boy had at least one sibling of secondary school age or over and where none of the family had attended comprehensive schools. Looking first at the top two rows of the table, it can be seen that, even where both parents left school at the minimum age, there is a difference in the boys' level of aspiration according to whether or not at least one of their brothers or sisters had attended a selective school or proceeded to Further or Higher education. Where one or both of the parents had stayed in school beyond the minimum age, the boy's level of aspiration is higher, but it is interesting to note that the highest proportion of boys aiming at jobs in Status Groups I or II is found, not where both parents had stayed on (43%), but where the father had stayed on while the mother left at the minimum age (cf. Table

Table 6.9 Relationship between family educational level and CODOT Status of job boy is aiming at (cases where the boy had at least one sibling aged eleven or over and none of the children had attended comprehensive school)

PARENT/SIBLING EDUCATIONAL TYPOLOGY	CODOT STATUS GROUP OF JOB AIMED AT				Answer unclassifiable	All with no job in mind	Total	Base (rewtd)
	I	II	III	IV				
Both parents left school early, no sib attended a selective school or did Further or Higher education %	8	21	35	30	2	4	100	447
Both parents left school early, at least 1 sib attended a selective school or did Further or higher education %	12	25	36	22	2	2	100	384
Father, but not mother, stayed in school beyond the minimum leaving age %	24	31	33	8	3	0	100	66
Mother, but not father, stayed in school beyond the minimum leaving age %	24	25	34	13	3	1	100	79
Both parents stayed in school beyond the mininum leaving age %	8	35	33	14	8	3	100	57
TOTAL %	12	24	35	24	3	3	100	1033

5.14). While this difference has possibly been heightened by sampling fluctuations, it should be borne in mind that apparent anomalies of this kind are quite likely to arise because of the truncated nature of the sample. We have seen in Chapter III that there is a strong relationship between the parents' age of leaving school and the son's disposition to stay on into the sixth form. From this it follows that our sub-sample of families where both parents stayed on in school is atypical of such families in general, in that they allowed or encouraged the boys to leave school by the age of 16.

In spite of this anomaly, the main trend in Table 6.9 is clearly for boys to aim at higher-status jobs where the general family educational level is high and at lower status jobs where the family educational level is low. The trend, while highly significant, is less striking than some of those already discussed and the skewed distribution of the sample over our family educational typology means that differences in home educational level can account for only a relatively small amount of the variation in occupational aspirations. On the other hand, it is worth pointing out that, whilst our measures of family occupational level refer to male family members only, Table 6.9 shows that mother's educational level has a distinct effect upon the boy's level of occupational aspiration.

6.7 Interpretation of relationships between personal, academic and home background variables and occupational intentions

It was pointed out in the introduction to this chapter that half the boys in our sample claimed to have a job actually fixed up for when they left school (i.e. an employer had definitely agreed to accept the boy as an employee). Of the remainder, 47% were able to specify some "main job sought" and only 3% had no specific ideas about what they might do on leaving school. In Table 6.1 a distinction was made between jobs fixed up and jobs sought, but thereafter the data on vocational intentions were pooled and referred to under the general heading of "jobs aimed at", thus enabling the presentation of results to be considerably simplified.

The decision to pool data relating to "jobs aimed at" in this way implies, of course, that the antecedent factors discussed in the preceding sections relate in a similar way both to "jobs fixed up" and to "jobs sought". We concluded that this was broadly the case after examining the results of some preliminary analyses carried out separately within the "job fixed up" and the "job sought" sub-samples. Some key results of these analyses are shown in Table 6.10.

When corresponding correlation coefficients in Table 6.10 are compared, it can be seen that the relationships between the boy's personal characteristics and the status-level of the job aimed at are similar for those who did and those who did not have a job fixed up at the time of the Stage I interview. The relationship between Family Occupational Status and job status-level is stronger in the case of boys who had not got a job fixed up and, in general, the level of jobs actually fixed up seems to be slightly less predictable, in terms of antecedent factors, than that of jobs sought but not yet fixed up.

In view of the general similarity in overall pattern shown by these and other results which were computed separately for the "Job fixed up" and "Main job sought" sub-samples, it seemed justifiable to combine these sub-samples for the purposes of certain analyses already discussed and of others to be presented later in the report.

The results shown in Tables 6.1 and 6.10, when taken together, also have certain wider implications. Table 6.1 showed that, on average, the status level of jobs sought was rather higher than that of jobs fixed up, but that over half the boys still seeking employment were nevertheless aiming at jobs in Status Groups III and IV. There was thus no major overall discrepancy between the status distribution of jobs aimed at and the status distribution of the jobs which the boys were likely actually to obtain. It is worth pointing out that this is not a logically necessary or inevitable state of affairs. One can quite easily visualize a situation in which every school-leaver initially aspired to a job in Status Group I or II and none was willing to accept a job in Status Group IV until it became clear that no higher-status job was accessible to him. Some mechanism is

Table 6.10 Correlations between CODOT Status of boy's job and selected predictor variables, for jobs fixed up and main jobs sought separately

PREDICTOR VARIABLE	Correlation coefficients showing the relationship between CODOT Status variable° and predictor variable	
	JOB FIXED UP	MAIN JOB SOUGHT
Age of school-leaving/Whether sat GCE and/or CSE examinations+	.45	.50
Teacher's Academic Rating score	.39	.42
Family Occupational Status index^x	.12	.23
White Collar Orientation scale score	.37	.36

° The CODOT Status variable was for this purpose reduced to a dichotomy by combining Groups I-II and Groups III-IV respectively.

+ This variable was used as a dichotomy, distinguishing non-examination candidates (who were virtually all 15-year-old leavers) from those who sat "O" Level and/or CSE examinations (having stayed on in school to age 16).

x This index was based upon the two criteria; "Family includes at least 1 non-manual worker" and "Family includes at least 1 non-skilled worker" (c.f. Table 6.11). Each criterion yielded a dichotomous variable, which was correlated separately with the CODOT Status variable. The obtained coefficients were virtually identical as given.

clearly at work which tends to bring the overall occupational status distribution of jobs aimed at by school-leavers into line with the overall status distribution of jobs actually available to them.

The comparison of results for jobs fixed up and jobs sought given in Table 6.10 enables us to carry the argument several stages further. The similarity of the values of corresponding correlation coefficients implies that it is the same antecedent factors which tend to determine both the level of job a boy aims at and the level of job he actually obtains. This finding has several important implications.

In the first place, it appears that the "pecking order" of individuals, in terms of their future occupational status, is already very largely determined by the time occupational intentions or aspirations are established and before the process of actually obtaining a job has been gone through. In the second place, these occupational intentions or aspirations, which seem so significantly to foreshadow a boy's occupational destination, are themselves determined by antecedent factors rooted deep in the boy's personal attributes and social origins. Our evidence for this assertion lies in the whole trend of the results presented in Chapter V and in

Sections 6.2 - 6.6. These demonstrated the importance of such factors as social class, home environment, parental attitudes, age of school-leaving and academic potential in shaping orientations to employment and then, partly through these, the level of job aimed at.

X Here, then, we seem to see in action a form of "anticipatory socialization" - that is, a social and psychological "feed-back" system whereby the current occupational, economic and social structure of society exerts differential influences upon the development of young people within it, so as to produce a distribution of occupational aspirations more or less corresponding to the distribution of occupational opportunities which the structure affords. The effect of this mechanism is, of course, to reconcile school-leavers to what the world of work has in store for them and thus to reduce overt disappointment and frustration. On the other hand, it can be argued that society in this country is characterized by a deficiency of enterprise and ambition and a tendency to apathetic acceptance of things as they are precisely because anticipatory socialization mechanisms, reinforcing and being reinforced by our social class structure, have become all too efficient.

6.8 Area differences in the type and level of jobs aimed at by sample boys

In our discussion of the nature of the jobs aimed at by boys in the sample, the emphasis has so far been upon the influence of individual differences between boys, as regards their personal characteristics and home backgrounds. The nature of the employment opportunities available in the boy's area of residence has been referred to only indirectly as one of the factors of which boys presumably take account in setting their level of occupational aspiration.

It would, however, be surprising if there were no gap at all between aspiration and achievement, so far as jobs were concerned, or if the distribution of jobs sought by school-leavers in a particular area turned out to mirror exactly the distribution of jobs actually available. In point of fact, as we have already seen in Section 6.8, the level of jobs actually fixed up was slightly less predictable from individual antecedents than was the level of jobs sought (but not yet fixed up). There was also the finding, shown in Table 6.1, that the mean status-level of jobs sought was significantly higher than that of jobs fixed up. These two results seem to hint at some discrepancy between aspiration and achievement which might be attributable to constraints on the range and nature of jobs actually available in the boy's area of residence.

Now, it is obvious, on reflection, that areas must differ from one another as employment environments in a number of different respects, all of which are relevant to the occupational prospects of boys in our sample. For example, areas differ in their industrial structure and hence in the type and distribution of employment opportunities which they offer to school-leavers. This means that the potential demand for the services of school-leavers varies both according to area and, within area, according to the boys' qualifications and aspirations. The effective level of demand depends, in addition, upon the amount of "slack" in the local economy, both overall and with respect to particular industries or firms.

In view of these complexities, it is desirable to study relevant aspects of the area employment environment separately and in their own right, in order to identify and measure their influence upon the boys' careers. It was as a step in this direction that we decided to carry out an independent survey of employers in each of the ten areas covered by the study. However, the results of this survey could not be analysed in time to be brought to bear on the other data collected at Stage I and will, in any case, be more directly applicable to the analysis of first jobs actually started, which will be a major topic of the report on Stages II and III of the enquiry. Nevertheless, even without recourse to data which would enable us to identify the sources of inter-area variation, it is possible to demonstrate the existence and extent of such variation as reflected in the occupational aims expressed by the boys at Stage I. Area distributions of jobs aimed at, analysed in terms of CODOT Status and CONCODOT 2 categories, are therefore presented for comparison in Tables 6.11 and 6.12.

Table 6.11 CODOT Status Group of all jobs aimed at, analysed by area

AREA NUMBER		CODOT STATUS GROUP				Answer unclass-ifiable	All with no job in mind	Total	Base (rewtd)
		I	II	III	IV				
(1)	%	23	25	27	20	2	2	100	188
(2)	%	15	20	44	17	4	*	100	158
(3)	%	13	28	38	16	2	3	100	204
(4)	%	10	41	29	12	8	1	100	157
(5)	%	5	19	38	23	4	11	100	148
(6)	%	16	19	37	25	2	1	100	175
(7)	%	9	26	31	26	4	3	100	160
(8)	%	10	26	28	32	1	3	100	202
(9)	%	14	25	25	33	2	*	100	160
(10)	%	13	24	44	15	2	1	100	176
TOTAL	%	13	25	34	22	3	3	100	1729

The inter-area differences shown in these tables need to be interpreted with some caution, since the size of the area sub-samples averages only about 170 individuals and differences between corresponding percentages can only be considered statistically significant if they exceed about 6 percentage points. It is therefore probably best to look first at the simplified picture presented in Table 6.11, before considering the more detailed

Table 6.12 CONCODOT 2 distribution of jobs aimed at, analysed by area

CONCODOT 2 CATEGORY	AREA NUMBER (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Technical, scientific, professional and managerial workers	7	5	3	3	1	8	3	5	7	7	5
2. Clerical, literary and aesthetic workers	16	10	10	7	3	8	6	5	6	6	8
3. Salesmen, roundsmen, catering and other service workers	8	10	7	9	9	12	9	3	6	3	7
4. Armed Forces, police, firemen	5	7	4	14	3	4	5	6	5	4	6
5. Skilled metal-manufacturing, engineering and printing workers	8	6	7	6	8	11	16	15	9	13	10
6. Electrical workers	13	6	17	21	8	5	5	6	11	7	10
7. Motor mechanics etc.	7	13	11	8	12	5	6	11	5	11	9
8. Welders, plumbers etc.; painters	6	12	14	9	11	13	11	5	10	20	11
9. Unskilled metal workers	4	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	5	2	3
10. Non-metal manufacturing workers	4	9	4	1	2	5	8	11	10	3	6
11. Woodworkers	7	10	6	3	7	7	4	9	5	10	7
12. Building and civil engineering workers; miners	2	3	2	2	8	4	2	5	5	4	4
13. Labourers, storekeepers, packagers, porters etc.	3	2	4	1	2	5	5	7	3	3	4
14. Drivers, conductors etc.; postal and communications workers	5	2	3	3	4	1	3	1	0	1	2
15. Farmers and agricultural workers	2	0	2	3	4	7	6	6	9	3	4
Answer not classifiable	2	4	2	8	4	2	4	1	2	2	3
No job fixed up or in mind	2	*	3	1	11	1	3	3	*	1	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	188	158	204	157	148	175	160	202	160	176	1728

breakdown in Table 6.12. (Both tables are, of course, derived from the same raw data).

From the leftmost column of Table 6.11 it can be seen that the proportion of boys aiming at non-manual jobs (Status Group I) varies from 23% in Area 1 down to 5% in Area 5. This latter figure is low even allowing for the fact that such a high proportion of boys in Area 5 (11%) had no job either fixed up or in mind at the time of the Stage I interview. The proportion of boys aiming at jobs in Group II (mainly skilled engineering and electrical work) is markedly above average in Area 4 (41%), while Areas 5 and 6 are below average. Group III jobs ("mainstream" manual work, in many cases involving apprenticeship) were most popular in areas 2 and 10 and least popular in Areas 1 and 9. Finally, Group IV jobs (non-skilled manual work) were aimed at by a relatively high proportion of boys in Areas 8 and 9, but by noticeably fewer than average in Areas 3, 4 and 10.

It has been suggested earlier in this chapter (see Sections 6.5 and 6.6) that the major division in terms of job-status is between non-manual and "elite manual" jobs (Status Groups I and II) on the one hand and other manual jobs in Groups III and IV, on the other. If we apply this dichotomy to Table 6.11, Areas 1, 4 and 7 stand out as "high-aspiring" areas in occupational terms, whereas Area 5 is very "low-aspiring".

Turning now to Table 6.12, it can be seen that what distinguishes Area 1 is the preponderance of boys aiming at clerical (rather than professional or managerial) jobs. Area 3 produced a significantly higher-than-average proportion of boys with electrical work in mind. Area 4 resembled Area 3 in this respect, but also produced a high proportion of boys interested in the Armed Forces or the Police. Area 5 shows systematically lower-than-average proportions of boys aiming at all the higher-status types of job. In Area 6 there seems to have been a preponderance of sales and other service workers, balanced by a relative shortfall in the proportions of boys interested in electrical or mechanical work. In Area 7 these last two categories are again small, the most popular jobs being in skilled engineering and metal-working. Boys in Area 8 seem to have favoured jobs in manufacturing and engineering more than average, though the pattern is not very clear-cut. Agricultural occupations were mentioned more often than elsewhere in Area 9, while in Area 10 metal-working again seems to have been more popular than average.

It is worth reminding the reader once again at this point that the figures in Tables 6.11 and 6.12 represent in each case a mixture of occupational facts (i.e. jobs actually fixed up) and occupational aspirations (i.e. jobs sought but not yet fixed up). As we shall see in Chapter VII, the proportion of "fact" to "aspiration" varies markedly both from one area to another and from one type of job to another within area. Since we do not know how likely individuals who had not yet got a job fixed up were to obtain work of the type which they were seeking, it is difficult at this point to say to what extent the inter-area differences shown in the tables represent variations in the distribution of actual occupational opportunity.

6.9 Summary

1. At the time of the Stage I interviews, exactly half of the boys in the

sample had either already started work, or else said that they had a job definitely fixed up for when they left school. Of the remainder, all except 3% were able to specify a "main job sought". Thus some 97% of sample boys gave details of a job or type of work which they had arranged, or which they hoped, to take up on leaving school. In deciding upon a method of classifying this information, it was also necessary to consider details of actual or hypothetical jobs specified by parents and Careers Officers, since it was desirable to use the same method throughout. Since the quality of the data from different sources was variable, this requirement imposed practical limitations upon the degree of detail and precision which any comprehensive system of classification could be expected to achieve. Other problems arose from the fact that a very wide and heterogeneous range of occupations had to be classified into a quite limited number of categories for purposes of analysis.

2. On the assumption that the method of classifying jobs should correspond as closely as possible to the boys' perception of them, it was decided that the main criterion of classification should be "activity content, though "level", particularly as related to the academic qualifications required for entry into the occupation, was also thought to be important. The method of classification used was based upon the CODOT system, as developed by the Manpower Research Unit of the Department of Employment. The primary units of classification were CODOT Minor Groups, but for purposes of analysis and presentation these were progressively condensed to produce breakdowns labelled respectively as CONCODOT 1, (29 categories), CONCODOT 2 (15 categories) and CODOT Status Groups (4 categories). While based principally upon CODOT criteria, these breakdowns also employed a supplementary "training status" criterion in distinguishing certain job-categories. The CONCODOT 2 and Status Group classifications are the versions mainly used in presenting the results.

3. The distributions of jobs "fixed up" and jobs "sought but not yet fixed up" over the CONCODOT 2 and CODOT Status Group categories were compared. Some differences were noted and, on average, the status-level of the former was found to be rather lower than that of the latter. It was also shown that the methods of classification used, while appropriate for handling the types of job entered by school-leavers, were less meaningful when applied to the jobs of mature men (e.g. fathers of school-leavers).

4. Type of secondary school attended, level of examinations sat (or age of school-leaving) and level of academic potential, as rated by a teacher, all proved to be strongly related to the status-level of the job aimed at, though less strongly to the specific field of employment within Status Group. In each case there was found to be a dividing-line between jobs in Status Groups I-II, which were most often mentioned by pupils at grammar and technical schools, by 16-year-old leavers (especially those sitting subjects at GCE "O" Level as well as at CSE) and by boys whose academic potential was rated highly by their teachers, and jobs in Status-Groups III-IV, which were most popular amongst secondary modern pupils, 15-year-old leavers who had sat no CSE or GCE examinations and boys rated relatively low by their teachers. It is interesting that this division separates "elite" manual jobs included in Status Group II (i.e. electrical and skilled engineering work) from

other manual jobs included in Status Groups III and IV, even though many of the latter would be formally classed as "skilled". Even though type of school attended and level of examinations sat are interdependent variables, it was found that the relationship between level of examinations sat and status-level of job aimed at remained very strong even within the sub-sample of leavers from secondary modern schools.

5. A number of different theories were reviewed which might account for the observed association between level of academic achievement and/or potential and the status-level of the job aimed at. It was argued that the direct effects of selection by ability on the part of employers are of less importance than the self-selection which occurs when boys set their sights on a particular range of occupations. This setting of individual levels of aspiration probably takes place at a subconscious and non-rational level, partly in response to educational experiences, rather than through a conscious and rational process of self- and job-evaluation. It is possible that the relationship between teachers' academic ratings and level of occupational aspiration is to some extent a circular one, in the sense that boys may well be aware of, and adjust their aspirations in accordance with, their teacher's opinion of them.

6. Some further light was thrown on the psychological processes which underlie the setting of individual levels of aspiration by analyses relating the status-level of the jobs at which the boys were aiming to their scores on the work-orientation scales. As expected, it was found that scores on the White Collar Orientation scale gave a powerful prediction of job status-level. The situation with respect to the Instrumental Orientation scale was slightly more complex, but, overall, there was a significant negative association between score on the IO scale and the status-level of the job aimed at. The available evidence suggested that work-orientations, as measured, were genuine psychological precursors of actual vocational decisions, rather than merely rationalizations produced after the decisions had been made.

7. Since a link between orientations to work and certain home background factors had already been demonstrated (Chapter V), we expected these factors to function as predictors of the level of job aimed at. This expectation was confirmed by analyses relating family occupational and educational status to the status-level of the job to which the boy aspired. A particularly striking contrast was found between the levels of aspiration of boys from families containing several non-manual workers, on the one hand, and from families containing several non-skilled manual workers, on the other.

8. When the sample was divided, for purposes of analysis, into those who did and those who did not have a job fixed up at the time of the Stage I interview, it was found that there was relatively little variation between sub-samples in the pattern of relationships between the status-level of the job aimed at and the main academic, attitudinal and home background factors already considered. This seemed to justify the pooling of the two sub-samples in the earlier analyses and also to suggest that antecedent factors of this kind, operating via their effect upon levels of occupational aspiration, strongly influenced the status-level of jobs actually obtained. Some implications of this conclusion, as it bears upon the nature of the occupational preselection process,

were discussed.

9. It seems clear on general a priori grounds that different aspects of the area employment environments to which boys are exposed must influence their vocational prospects (and also their vocational thinking) in various complexly-interacting ways. It is hoped in due course to throw some light on the detailed relationships involved with the aid of evidence from our separate postal survey of employers in the ten areas covered by the study. However, data from this source are more appropriately considered in relation to the boys' career details as revealed at Stages II and III of the study and for the present we have gone no further than to demonstrate that significant differences existed between area sub-samples with respect to the distribution, over CONCODOT 2 and CODOT Status categories, of jobs aimed at at the time of the Stage I interviews.

CHAPTER VII

PROGRESS TOWARDS EMPLOYMENT

7.1 Introduction

The main purpose of the present enquiry is to study the process of transition from full-time education to employment. On consideration, it is apparent that this process consists of a number of phases which are, for practical purposes, fairly distinct. First, there is the pre-school-leaving phase, at which basic individual traits of intellect and personality manifest themselves, fundamental values, expectations and aspirations relating to employment are acquired and so on. Most of the report so far has been concerned with aspects of this phase. At the other end of the process comes the phase of adjustment (or failure to adjust) to the demands of a particular job or jobs and to the world of employment in general. This phase will form the main topic of the report on Stages II and III of the enquiry. In between the two comes the phase of practical job-choice and of finding the first job. For most individuals (though not all) this phase is relatively brief, but it is, of course, of special interest to those concerned in equipping school-leavers to cope with the problems of entry into employment. Aspects of this phase will therefore form the topics of Chapters VII-X of the present report.

In Chapter VII the focus is upon differences between school-leavers in the sample in terms of the amount of practical effort and progress which they had made by the time of the Stage I interview towards finding their first full-time job. In seeking to account for these differences, we stress the many links which can be shown to exist between traits and attributes already detectable at the pre-school-leaving phase and promptness or tardiness in finding employment. The important effects upon the latter variable of external factors in the boys' area employment environments are also demonstrated.

On the evidence available at Stage I, we cannot be certain to what extent relative tardiness in seeking and/or finding a job is prognostic of serious or long-term difficulties in obtaining suitable employment. We are, however, able to show that the amount of effort and progress made is very far from being a random feature of the boys' behaviour, but, on the contrary, seems to be largely a function of certain key combinations of individual characteristics and environmental circumstances. There is therefore at least a possibility that this variable provides a preliminary index of the boys' employment prospects and may serve as a predictor of their future career-pattern.

7.2 Employment situation and intentions at the time of the Stage I interview

As was explained in Chapter I of this report, the aim at Stage I of the study was to interview the boys in the sample at a date as close as possible to that on which they were to leave school. In designing the documents and procedures to be used, it was assumed that the vast majority of eligible boys would leave school either at the end of the Summer term 1968, or at the end of the Easter term 1969, and would start work almost immediately.

Whereas these assumptions held good in general, there were a number of boys whose employment situation or intentions diverged to some extent from the expected pattern. This raised certain problems of definition and classification, as well as causing some operational difficulties. In order to clarify the overall position at Stage I, this section will be devoted to an analysis of individual differences in career situation, as revealed at the interview.

As already explained, arrangements were initially made to interview Summer and Easter leavers at school in two phases, timed to take place during the last few weeks of the Summer and Easter terms respectively. In the event, however, we were only able to contact about two thirds of the sample as a whole at school and the remainder therefore had to be interviewed in their own homes. There were a number of reasons for the failure to contact boys at school, but the one which most concerns us here is that a small, but not insignificant, proportion of boys was found to have left school, for practical purposes even if not officially, some time before the end of the Summer term 1968. There was also another very small group who left school during the period from September 1968 to March 1969, that is, some months before being contacted during the Easter phase of interviewing.

Of the boys who thus turned out to have left school some time before being interviewed at Stage I, the majority had already obtained a job and started in employment before the interview took place. However, almost all of these had only been working for a matter of a few weeks, so that it was possible to ask them the questions on the interview schedule (slightly adapted where necessary) without any great risk that the information so obtained would not be comparable with that given by boys (the majority) who had not yet actually begun their employment careers at the time of the interview.

At the opposite extreme to these boys who proved to have started in employment at a date earlier than we had anticipated, there were also some who said at the beginning of the interview that they did not intend to start work immediately on leaving school. This raised the question of whether they were eligible to be included in the sample at all. The criteria used in deciding this issue are described and discussed in more detail in Appendix A, but for our present purpose it is sufficient to note that boys were counted as eligible for inclusion at Stage I if they intended both to leave school by Christmas 1968 (Summer 1968 interviewees) or Easter 1969 (Easter 1969 interviewees) and to start in paid employment by September 1969 (all boys).

Table 7.1 gives details of the situation and intentions of boys in the sample with respect to starting work, broken down according to the level of examinations sat. From the Total column it can be seen that, overall, some 84% of the sample (66% at Summer 1968 and 18% at Easter 1969) showed the expected pattern of behaviour, in that they intended to leave at the end of the current school term and then to start work immediately. On the other hand, 8% (6% at Summer and 2% at Easter) had already started work by the time the Stage I interview took place, while 7%, almost all of whom were boys interviewed in Summer 1968, said they did not intend to start work immediately after the end of the current school term.

Table 7.1 Situation and intentions as regards starting work analysed by level of examinations sat

SITUATION AND INTENTIONS AS REGARDS STARTING WORK	Wholly or mainly GCE "O" Level	Wholly or mainly CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Boys interviewed June - July 1968				
Had started work before interview	7	14	3	6
Intended to leave school by July 1968 and start work immediately	73	80	61	66
Intended to leave school by the end of 1968 and start work by September 1969	17	6	6	7
Boys interviewed March - April 1969				
Had started work before interview	2	*	3	2
Intended to leave school by Easter 1969 and start work immediately	1	0	28	18
Intended to leave school by Easter 1969 and start work by September 1969	*	0	1	*
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	153	431	1141	1724

Comparison across columns in Table 7.1 shows that the boy's pattern of behaviour as regards leaving school and starting work is to some extent a function of the level of examinations sat (which in turn is associated with the age of school-leaving). For example, CSE examinations are normally held in May and June only, so that CSE candidates, unless they intend to stay on into a sixth school year (which would exclude them from the present sample) are virtually certain to leave school during the summer. Indeed, it became clear in the course of the survey that in many cases boys who have completed their CSE examinations are not compelled to return to school for the remaining month or so of their final summer term. This is reflected in our table, which shows that a higher proportion of CSE candidates than of other boys had left to take up employment before the Stage I interview took place. Leaving at Easter, on the other hand, is confined almost entirely to non-examination candidates - in other words, to 15-year-old leavers. Finally, the fact that the proportion intending to leave school between July 1968 and the end of the year is highest amongst "O" Level candidates is probably attributable to the tendency for pupils who have failed "O" Levels in the summer to stay on and resit them at Christmas or in January.

7.3 Measuring the degree of progress made towards getting a job

It will be recalled that the Stage I interviews, upon which the analyses presented in this report are based, were carried out over a period of about six weeks in June - August 1968 (Summer leavers) and in March 1969 (Easter leavers). The timing of the interviewing was largely determined by a number of important practical and administrative considerations (see Section 1.3 above) as well as by the general requirement that the boys should be seen at a date as close as possible to that on which they actually left school. In fact, as we have already noted, by no means all the boys left school at the official end of term and, even amongst those who did so, there was a great deal of variation in the degree of practical progress made towards getting a job. In short, then, we find that the career-patterns of individual boys had already begun to diverge from the relatively "standardized" regime of school life and that the "Stage I interview" did not, in fact, occur at exactly the same stage in the career of each boy.

In the present section we shall describe an attempt to measure, in a very broad and simple way, the amount of practical progress which the boys in the sample had made, by the time of the Stage I interview, towards obtaining a job. In later sections we shall try to account for observed differences in the amount of progress made by reference, first, to personal and academic traits and influences, secondly, to home background factors and, thirdly, to differences in the area employment environments to which boys were exposed.

As was shown in the previous section, some 8% of the boys in the sample were found to be actually in full-time employment by the time that the Stage I interview took place. A further 42% claimed to have a job definitely fixed up for when they left school (this claim was checked, as far as possible, by asking the name of the prospective employer and the exact nature of the promised job). Thus exactly half of the sample had settled their immediate employment destination by the time of the interview (though this proportion would certainly have been significantly different if the interviewing had taken place even a week or two earlier or later). These boys were asked how long before the interview they had got their job fixed up and, of the 50%, only 20% said that this had occurred more than one month previously, while 30% said it had occurred within the last month. Since the interviewing was necessarily spread over a period of time, it is not possible to express this finding with precision in terms of calendar dates. However, it is probably reasonable to conclude that less than one fifth of the boys had a job fixed up by a point two months before the end of the official school term. Since a proportion of these actually started work before the end of the school term, it follows that only a small minority of boys had a job fixed up more than a month or so before they intended to start work.

Those boys who had not yet got a job fixed up at the time of the interview were asked whether they had any job(s) in mind that they hoped to get when they left school and, if so, whether they had actually applied for any such jobs as yet. Of the 50% of the sample questioned, 27% said they had a job or jobs in mind and had made some form of job-application; 20% said they had a job or jobs in mind but had not yet applied; while 3% said they had no particular job(s) in mind. The overall situation as regards progress and/or efforts made towards obtaining a job is summed up in Table 7.2

Table 7.2 Efforts and progress made towards finding a job

	%
Job fixed up more than one month before interview	20
Job fixed up one month or less before interview	30
No job fixed up, but had applied for a job	27
No job fixed up or applied for, but had some job(s) in mind	20
No specific job or occupation either fixed up or in mind	3
No answer etc.	*
Total (all boys)	100
Base (reweighted)	1727

We may conclude, from the distribution shown in the table, that there is a strong tendency for boys of the type included in our sample to concentrate the whole practical business of job-getting within the few weeks around the actual date of school-leaving. Present data do not, of course, show what proportion of those who did not have a job fixed up at the time of the interview were able to secure one within a few days or weeks and what proportion were destined to remain unemployed for longer periods; this question will be dealt with in the report on later stages of the study.

A situation in which relatively few boys have a job actually fixed up more than a few weeks in advance need not, of course, be considered unsatisfactory per se. Provided that the boy's aspirations are realistic in relation to the range of vacancies normally available locally, his most sensible course may well be to wait and see what jobs are on offer at the time when he actually leaves school, rather than commit himself prematurely.

7.4 Correlates of progress made towards a job: (1) Type of secondary school attended, level of examinations sat and Teacher's Academic Rating score

It has now been established that there were considerable individual differences between boys in the sample, as regards the degree of progress made towards obtaining a job by the time of the Stage I interview. The existence of these differences proved something of an embarrassment from the point of view of the analyses bearing on levels of aspiration which were presented in Chapter VI above. However, variation in the amount of progress made is an interesting phenomenon in its own right - though in some ways difficult to interpret - and an examination of it may well throw additional light upon the way in which boys' early employment careers are influenced, on the one hand, by their personal characteristics and, on the other, by environmental factors.

Table 7.3 Effort and progress made towards finding a job analysed by (a) type of school attended, (b) level of examinations sat

(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

EFFORT AND PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS FINDING A JOB	Grammar/ Technical	Comprehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Job fixed up or already started	47	42	53	50
No job fixed up, but had applied	30	30	26	27
No job fixed up or applied for, but some job(s) in mind	20	26	18	20
No specific job or occupation either fixed up or in mind	3	3	2	3
No answer etc.	0	0	1	*
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	188	384	1154	1727

(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT

EFFORT AND PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS FINDING A JOB	Wholly or mainly GCE	Wholly or mainly CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Job fixed up or already started	45	54	49	50
No job fixed up, but had applied	29	32	25	27
No job fixed up or applied for, but some job(s) in mind	24	13	22	20
No specific job or occupation either fixed up or in mind	1	2	3	3
No answer etc.	1	*	1	*
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	153	432	1141	1727

Table 7.3 Effort and progress made towards finding a job analysed by (c) Teacher's Academic Rating score

EFFORT AND PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS FINDING A JOB	(c) RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING - At least 1 subject at GCE	At least 3 subjects at CSE	Less able	Total
	%	%	%	%
Job fixed up or already started	49	55	44	47
No job fixed up, but had applied	29	33	26	28
No job fixed up or applied for, but some job(s) in mind	20	11	26	21
No specific job or occupation either fixed up or in mind	1	1	4	3
No answer etc.	*	0	*	*
TOTAL (all with a Teacher's Assessment)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	413	327	833	1572

Let us begin by considering the overall relationships between our measure of the amount of effort and progress made towards obtaining a job and the three main academic measures which we have used, namely, (a) type of secondary school attended, (b) level of examinations sat and (c) Teacher's Academic Rating score. For the purpose of these tables and those which follow, a slightly simplified form of the "progress scale" has been used, so that all those who had a job fixed up by the time of the Stage I interview are included in a single category.

A rapid scan of Tables 7.3 (a)-(c) shows that, on the whole, differences between sub-samples distinguished on academic criteria alone are not very striking. Table (a) suggests that pupils at comprehensives had made rather less progress, on average, than others, but it must be remembered that our sub-sample of comprehensive school-leavers is largely concentrated within two of the ten areas covered by the study. We shall be returning to this point later. As was remarked in relation to Table 7.1 above, CSE candidates tended to be rather "quicker off the mark" than others, so that, for example, only about 15% of them had not yet applied for any jobs, as compared with 23% overall. The fact that a rather higher proportion of CSE candidates than of other boys seem to have been allowed to leave school early is probably the most important factor here, but it is interesting to note in Table 7.3(c) that the greatest amount of progress had been made by boys who were rated capable by their teachers of passing three or more subjects at CSE. It may be, therefore, that good CSE candidates were genuinely more enterprising in seeking jobs than either the more able or the less able boys in the sample. Still looking at Table (c), it can be seen that boys rated capable by their teachers of passing only one or two subjects at CSE, or no examinations at all, were by a significant margin the most likely to have applied for no jobs at all by the time of the Stage I interview.

It would be tempting to conclude, on the basis of these results, that type of school environment, level of examinations sat and level of academic ability are of only very limited importance as predictors of the degree of progress made towards employment. Such a conclusion, however, would be premature and incorrect. The analyses so far presented are too crude and simplistic to do justice to the complexity of the underlying relationships, as will be shown in the sections which follow.

7.5 Correlates of progress made: (2) "Institutional Type" of school attended

It was shown in Chapter II of this report that the "official" division of maintained secondary schools into grammar, technical, comprehensive and secondary modern schools, while highly significant for many purposes, by no means accounts for all important differences between schools as "institutional environments". In order to demonstrate this, a school typology was developed, in which grammar/technical and comprehensive schools were each divided into two sub-groups and secondary modern schools into eight sub-groups. In the case of secondary modern schools there were three criteria of sub-division, namely, the "academicness" of the school (measured by reference to the proportion of pupils sitting CSE or GCE examinations), the "social class" of the school (based on estimates made by head teachers) and the size of the school (i.e. the number of pupils on the school roll).

It was decided to use this typology of schools to test the hypothesis that aspects of the institutional environment provided by the school which were not adequately distinguished by the "official" typology might have an influence upon the amount of progress which pupils had made towards obtaining a job. An analysis on these lines brought out some interesting effects, but none of these seemed to be attributable to the "social class" dimension in the case of secondary modern schools. Tables 7.4 and 7.5 have therefore been simplified by the elimination of this dimension, which reduces the number of secondary modern "types" to four.

In Table 7.4 eight individual school types are distinguished. In addition, there are summary rows corresponding to the "official" school types (with grammar and technical schools combined) and to the separate dimensions (i.e. size and "academicness" in terms of which the secondary modern "types" are distinguished.

As regards leavers from grammar and technical schools, there is little difference in the average amount of progress made by boys from larger and smaller schools respectively. However, leavers from the more academic comprehensive schools seem from the figures to have made considerably less progress than average. This result, like others relating to comprehensive schools, should be treated with caution, since the number of comprehensives from which the sample was drawn was small and concentrated within certain areas. There is thus a distinct possibility that results such as this represent concealed area effects, rather than effects of school type as such. It should also be borne in mind that several of the comprehensive schools included had been established as such only a short time before the survey took place and may therefore have shown characteristics which were "transitional" rather than typical of "mature" comprehensives.

When we come to consider secondary modern schools (from which most of the

Table 7.4 Progress made towards a job analysed by "institutional type" of school attended

"INSTITUTIONAL TYPE" OF SCHOOL ATTENDED		Job fixed up	Job applied for	No job applied for	No answer	Total	Base (rewtd)
Small grammar/technical	%	44	30	25	0	100	65
Large grammar/technical	%	49	30	22	0	100	125
ALL GRAMMAR/TECHNICAL	%	47	30	23	0	100	189
Less academic comprehensive	%	46	30	24	0	100	186
More academic comprehensive	%	38	30	32	0	100	199
ALL COMPREHENSIVE	%	42	30	28	0	100	385
Smaller, less academic secondary modern	%	39	27	33	1	100	401
Smaller, more academic secondary modern	%	56	23	21	1	100	168
Larger, less academic secondary modern	%	55	32	13	*	100	292
Larger, more academic secondary modern	%	69	20	11	0	100	295
All smaller secondary moderns	%	43	26	30	1	100	568
All larger secondary moderns	%	62	25	12	*	100	586
All less academic secondary modern	%	45	29	25	1	100	692
All more academic secondary modern	%	64	21	15	*	100	463
ALL SECONDARY MODERN	%	53	26	21	*	100	1155
ALL SCHOOL TYPES	%	50	27	23	*	100	1729

leavers in the sample were drawn) some more interesting and systematic effects reveal themselves. From the summary rows towards the bottom of the table it can be seen that both larger size and greater "academicness" (by secondary modern standards) were significantly associated with a greater degree of progress towards employment on the part of leavers from schools concerned. Furthermore, the full typal analysis shows that these

Table 7.5 Progress made towards a job analysed by "institutional type" of school attended (non-examination candidates only)

"INSTITUTIONAL TYPE" OF SCHOOL ATTENDED		PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS A JOB					
		Job fixed up	Job applied for	No job applied for	No answer	Total	Base (rewtd)
ALL GRAMMAR/TECHNICAL	%	57	28	16	o	100	38
Less academic comprehensive	%	43	27	29	0	100	126
More academic comprehensive	%	34	26	40	0	100	112
ALL COMPREHENSIVE	%	39	27	35	0	100	238
Smaller, less academic Secondary modern	%	37	25	37	1	100	353
Smaller, more academic Secondary moder	%	60	18	22	0	100	121
Larger, less academic Secondary modern	%	55	32	14	*	100	226
Larger, more academic Secondary modern	%	71	17	11	o	100	168
All smaller secondary moderns	%	43	23	33	1	100	474
All larger secondary moderns	%	62	26	13	*	100	393
All less academic secondary modern	%	44	28	27	1	100	578
All more academic secondary modern	%	67	18	16	0	100	289
ALL SECONDARY MODERN	%	50	24	24	*	100	867
ALL SCHOOL TYPES	%	49	25	26	*	100	1143

effects were to some extent additive, so that there is an extreme contrast between leavers from smaller, less academic secondary moderns, of whom only 39% had a job fixed up and 33% had not yet applied for any jobs, and leavers from larger, more academic secondary moderns, of whom 69% had a job fixed up and only 11% had not yet applied for any jobs.

It may be objected at this point that different types of secondary school produce very different types of leaver, in terms of academic characteristics, and that the effects exhibited in Table 7.4 could be due to inherent individual differences, rather than to institutional factors as such. The results shown in Table 7.3(b)-(c) make it doubtful whether the relationship between academic factors and degree of progress made is strong enough to account for the differences found in Table 7.4, but it is nevertheless of some interest to enquire whether institutional effects - if such they are - remain strong when individual level of academic achievement is held (roughly) constant. Because of limitations on sample size it is only really feasible to test this issue with respect to the large category of boys who had sat neither GCE nor CSE examinations (i.e., for practical purposes, fourth year leavers). The results of an analysis on these lines are presented in Table 7.5.

Because the number of non-examination candidates leaving from grammar or technical schools is so small, it was necessary in Table 7.5 to combine them into a single category. Apart from this, however, the format of Table 7.5 is identical with that of Table 7.4. Comparison of the pattern of percentages in the two tables shows that all the differences remarked upon in Table 7.4 are preserved and, if anything, slightly enhanced in Table 7.5. Thus the percentage of leavers from larger, more academic secondary moderns who had a job fixed up rises as high as 71%, as contrasted with only 37% amongst leavers from the smaller, less academic secondary moderns.

The size and consistency of the effects demonstrated in Tables 7.4 and 7.5 is quite striking, especially in the case of the different types of secondary modern, but rather difficult to interpret. Secondary modern schools of each type were found in a number of different areas, so it is most unlikely in the case of these schools that any concealed area effect could account for the overall pattern of results. On the other hand, Table 7.5 provides strong evidence against the theory that the results are a reflection of inherent individual differences. There is thus a strong case for supposing that we are dealing with genuine "institutional" effects of the type of school attended. However, it is not at all easy to understand the exact mechanism whereby attendance at small, non-academic secondary moderns tends to retard and attendance at larger, more academic secondary moderns tends to accelerate leavers' progress towards obtaining a job.

7.6 Correlates of progress made: (3) combined effects of personal traits and level of job aimed at

The rather simple analyses presented in Tables 7.3(b) and (c) failed to throw up any very dramatic effects of individual differences in academic performance or potential upon degree of progress made towards employment. There are a number of reasons why this should be so. On the one hand, there are certainly limitations upon the validity and precision of our measures. In particular, our measure of "progress made" is almost certainly confounded to some extent by the existence of boys whose immediate prospects of obtaining a job were good, but who had to await examination results before they could get a job formally "fixed up" or, in some cases, even apply for one. This would produce a rather misleading negative correlation between the sitting of GCE examinations, the results of which were in most cases not yet available by the time of the interviews, and good progress towards employment – misleading, that is, if we wish to interpret our measure of progress made in terms of the ease or difficulty which boys experienced in finding employment.

This problem cannot be fully resolved until data from Stage II of the enquiry are available, but in the meantime it is certainly possible to refine and sharpen our analytic approach. For example, it might be supposed that the value of particular academic qualifications or abilities in securing employment would vary according to the type or level of the job at which the boy was aiming. A boy could obviously be considered well-qualified for jobs at one level, but ill-qualified for jobs at another – a type of relationship which could easily be masked in analyses such as those presented in Table 7.3(b) and (c), which take no account of the level of job aimed at. In Table 7.6 we accordingly examine the joint effects of level of examinations sat and level of job aimed at (measured in terms of its CODOT Status Group) upon the probability of a boy's having a job fixed up at the time of the Stage I interview.

Table 7.6 Proportions of boys with a job fixed up, within sub-samples distinguished according to level of examinations sat and CODOT Status Group of job aimed at

	LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT			
CODOT STATUS GROUP OF JOB AIMED AT	Wholly or mainly GCE	Wholly or mainly CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
I Managerial, clerical, technical etc.	(63) 38%	(124) 44%	(37) 42%	(224) 41%
II Forces, police, skilled engineering and electrical trades	(49) 48%	(167) 54%	(224) 47%	(440) 50%
III Salesmen, mechanics, welders, painters, woodworkers etc.	(31) 61%	(75) 63%	(500) 45%	(590) 48%
IV Labourers, storekeepers, non-skilled factory workers etc.		(41) 68%	(321) 62%	(378) 63%
TOTAL (All who specified a job classifiable by DEPOC)	(143) 46%	(407) 54%	(1082) 50%	(1632) 51%

The percentaged cell entries in Table 7.6 represent proportions of boys within each cell who had a job definitely fixed up by the time of the interview. The bracketed figures are reweighted numbers upon which percentages were based. (The effect of the reweighting is such that bracketed figures in the two columns to the left rather underestimate the actual number of boys interviewed, whereas those in the "Neither GCE nor CSE" column tend to over-estimate). Because the number of "Wholly or mainly GCE" candidates aiming at relatively low-status jobs was small, it has been necessary to combine the two cells at the bottom left of the table. Even so, the base for the combined cell percentage is rather low, and the same is true of the diagonally opposite cell representing non-examination candidates aiming at Group I jobs. These entries, considered on their own, are therefore subject to considerable sampling error, but our interpretation will be based mainly upon the overall pattern of results within the table.

The method of computing the percentages in Table 7.6 means that these may be compared either by rows or by columns. Looking first along the rows, we find that the general pattern already noted in Table 7.3(b) is reproduced at each job-status level. That is to say, boys who had sat wholly or mainly CSE examinations were more likely to have a job fixed up than either GCE candidates or non-examination candidates, no matter what the level of job aimed at. Overall, however, examination candidates had made little more progress than non-candidates, even amongst boys who were aiming at the higher-level jobs.

This pattern of results appears to contradict the idea that qualifications confer an advantage and is thus at first sight rather surprising. However, it should be looked at in conjunction with the results presented in Table 6.3, which showed that relatively few non-examination candidates actually aspire to higher-level jobs in the first place. Perhaps those who did aspire to jobs in Groups I-II did so because they possessed special non-academic advantages - e.g. a relative able to secure them favourable treatment - which justified their optimism. Be that as it may, it seems that constraints arising from lack of academic qualifications tend to affect occupational choice, rather than progress towards employment as such.

One result shown in Table 7.6 which seems particularly anomalous is the very low proportion (38%) of GCE candidates who had got a Group I job definitely fixed up. A more detailed examination of the data upon which the figures are based suggested that a special factor may have been at work here. Group I jobs sought by GCE candidates tended to be of the professional or managerial type, while those sought by CSE candidates and others were more often clerical or technical. Thus GCE results, which were not yet available, may have been more crucial in the one case than in the other and have accounted for the low proportion of jobs definitely fixed up. There is also the point that boys seeking professional or managerial jobs were probably more subject to competition from job-candidates with "A" Levels than those who aspired only to clerical or technical work, and their prospects of obtaining jobs may have been worse because of this.

When we examine the trend of percentages within columns, a further important result emerges. Both overall and within each level of examination candidacy, boys aspiring to Group IV jobs (i.e. jobs at the lowest level) were significantly more likely than average to have them fixed up, whereas boys aspiring to Group I jobs had made significantly less progress than average. There was little consistent difference between jobs in Group II and jobs in Group III as regards the proportion fixed up. The general trend is presumably a reflection of the fact that boys who are willing to accept low-status jobs will find employment more easily (other things being equal) than those who are more demanding in their occupational aspirations. However, it is rather surprising that the trend is so similar for all academic levels; as previously remarked, one might have expected non-examination candidates to have made less progress in seeking higher-level jobs than seems to be the case.

Table 7.7 is similar in format to Table 7.6, but shows the joint effects of the level of job aimed at and the boy's academic potential, as rated by his teacher, upon his chances of having a job fixed up. It has once again been necessary to amalgamate two cells, this time because the number of less able boys who aspired to higher-level jobs was very small.

Table 7.7 Proportions of boys with a job fixed up, within sub-samples distinguished according to Teacher's Academic Rating score and CODOT Status Group of job aimed at

	RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING –			
CODOT STATUS GROUP OF JOB AIMED AT	At least 1 subject at GCE	At least 3 subjects at CSE	Less able	Total
I Managerial, clerical technical etc.	35% (132)	49% (62)	35% (60)	39% (203)
II Forces, police, skilled engineering and electrical trades	53% (150)	45% (190)		47% (392)
III Salesmen, mechanics, welders, painters, woodworkers etc.	61% (67)	50% (263)	36% (220)	46% (550)
IV Labourers, storekeepers, non-skilled factory workers etc.	66% (36)	65% (132)	57% (177)	61% (345)
TOTAL (All specifying a job classifiable by CODOT for whom an Academic Rating was obtained)	49% (386)	51% (647)	44% (457)	49% (1490)

The figures in the Total row of the table indicate, as has already been shown in Table 7.3(c), that there are no very marked overall differences between more and less able boys, as regards the proportion who had a job fixed up by the time of the interview. However, when we come to look at the rows of percentages corresponding to different levels of job aimed at, it is apparent that, amongst boys who were aiming at jobs in CODOT Status Groups II-IV, the abler individuals had made significantly more progress than the less able. The trend breaks down only in the case of boys seeking jobs in Group I, where the ablest individuals had made considerably less progress than might have been expected in that only 35% had a job fixed up. It is probable that the special factors affecting this group, to which attention was drawn in the discussion of Table 7.6 above, are also relevant here. The trend within columns, meanwhile, again shows that lower-status jobs tended to be fixed up more readily than higher-status ones. The net effect of row and column trends is thus for the minority of able boys who were willing to accept lower-level jobs to have made most progress, while the minority of academically duller boys who nevertheless aspired to higher-level jobs had made least progress.

This pattern of results corresponds to what we might expect in a competitive job-market where ability is at a premium, but it should be noted that the effect is by no means an overwhelming one. It is clear, therefore, that academic ability or potential and level of aspiration jointly account for only a relatively small amount of the individual variance in amount of progress made towards obtaining a job.

Still working on the hypothesis that individual differences in the amount of progress made might be partially accountable for in terms of personal traits, we decided to compare "types" of boys, distinguished in terms of their behavioural trait factor scores (see Chapter IV above), with respect to proportions having a job fixed up at the time of the interview. Bearing in mind the "job level effect" already demonstrated in Table 7.7, the analysis took account of the CODOT Status Group of the job aimed at, as well as of the boy's "behavioural type". Preliminary inspection of the results showed that the Extraversion - Introversion trait had little influence on the amount of progress made and it has therefore been eliminated, in order to simplify the presentation of results in Table 7.8.

In spite of this simplification, Table 7.8 represents the results of a four-dimensional analysis and exhibits some rather complex interactions. For this reason four summary rows have been added at the bottom of the table, so as to show the effects of the behavioural dimensions considered separately. Let us begin by looking at the two rows of percentages representing proportions of "all co-operative boys" and "all unco-operative boys" (i.e. those scoring above and below the mean, respectively, on the "Co-operativeness" factor) who had jobs at given status-levels fixed up.

Overall, only slightly more of the "co-operative" (51%) than of the "unco-operative" boys (47%) had a job fixed up by the time of the interview. In the case of the former, however, there was a marked contrast between the low proportion (34%) of those seeking jobs in CODOT Status Group I and the high proportion (69%) of those seeking jobs in Status Group IV, who had been successful in obtaining a job. In the case of "unco-operative" boys, on the other hand, there was relatively little difference in the success-rates of those seeking jobs at different levels. Looking at the same results by columns, rather than by rows, it can be seen that "unco-operative" boys were actually more successful than "co-operative" in securing jobs in Group I, but that the latter were at an advantage in

Table 7.8 Proportions of boys with a job fixed up, within sub-samples distinguished according to Behavioural Type and CODOT Status Group of job aimed at

BOY'S BEHAVIOURAL TYPE	STATUS GROUP OF JOB AIMED AT				
	1	II	111	IV	Total
Co-operative Socially Mature	38% (72)	53% (131)	50% (105)	76% (61)	53% (369)
Co-operative Socially Immature	24% (36)	43% (88)	50% (166)	63% (90)	49% (381)
Unco-operative Socially Mature	51% (55)	52% (111)	49% (135)	56% (98)	52% (400)
Unco-operative Socially Immature	37% (40)	36% (72)	36% (144)	52% (103)	41% (359)
All Co-operative boys	34% (108)	49% (219)	50% (271)	69% (151)	51% (750)
All Unco-operative boys	45% (95)	46% (183)	42% (279)	54% (201)	47% (759)
All Socially Mature boys	44% (127)	53% (242)	49% (240)	64% (159)	52% (769)
All Socially Immature boys	31% (76)	40% (160)	43% (310)	58% (193)	45% (739)
TOTAL (all aiming at a classifiable job for whom Behavioural Ratings were obtained)	39% (203)	47% (403)	46% (550)	60% (353)	49% (1508)

obtaining other jobs, and progressively more so as we move from Group 11 to Group 1V.

Turning now to the two rows representing "all socially mature" and "all socially immature" boys respectively, we find a simpler pattern of results, with the former being more likely to have a job fixed up than the latter, no matter what the level of job aimed at. However, it is noticeable that the more "socially mature" boys were at a special advantage amongst those seeking jobs in Group I.

Let us now examine the joint effects of Co-operativeness and Social Maturity, as exhibited in the top four rows of the table. The general pattern of results here is roughly what might have been predicted on the assumption that the separate effects of the two behavioural traits combined in an additive way. However, there are a few apparent "interaction effects". For example, boys who were both "co-operative" and "socially mature" had a particularly good chance of securing Group IV jobs, while boys who were both "unco-operative" and "socially immature" had a much worse chance than others of obtaining jobs in Groups II and III. Such interactions are, perhaps, to be expected where the predictors represent different aspects of the same personality, but in the main, the interpretation of Table 7.8 depends on how we account for the separate relationships between the two behavioural trait scores and rates of success achieved in obtaining jobs at different status-levels.

In the case of the Social Maturity score, an explanation follows quite naturally from our previous interpretation of it as a measure of "all-round competence" in life, (cf. Section 4.5. above). An above-average success-rate in obtaining employment (especially where higher-level jobs are concerned) can plausibly be regarded as a manifestation of this general trait.

The more complex pattern of results involving the Co-operativeness dimension is harder to explain. Why should "co-operative" boys have been so successful in obtaining Group IV (i.e. low-status) jobs, yet so unsuccessful in obtaining Group I jobs? The puzzle here may arise partly from unjustified assumptions implicit in the terminology which we have adopted in referring to the transition to employment. We speak of jobs being "aimed at" or "sought", of proportions of boys who had "obtained" a job by the time of the interview, and so on (see also Chapters 6.1 and 6.8 above). However, it was clear from verbatim answers recorded during the Stage I interview that many of the boys who had a job "fixed up" had never actually gone through the hypothetical sequence of first choosing a job or type of work, then looking for vacancies of the type required and finally having their job-application accepted. It was rather that they had been offered a job (or had one "fixed up" for them) more-or-less "out of the blue" and had simply accepted it. In other words, for these boys the process of obtaining employment was more a matter of passive acceptance than of active striving.

Now, lower-level jobs were much more likely than higher-level ones to be offered and accepted in this casual way. If, therefore, we may interpret "Co-operativeness" (in the classroom) as implying docility, or even passivity, in accepting the type of job which is most readily available, the effects associated with the Co-operativeness score in Table 7.8 may be partly explained.

Amongst the other personal traits of sample boys which we have been able to measure, the one which seemed likely to have the most direct bearing upon the individual's approach to finding a job was that reflected by scores on the Instrumental Orientation scale. It will be recalled from Section 5.2 above that several of the item responses contributing to scores on the IO scale seemed to denote an unwillingness on the boy's part to involve himself very deeply in work, as such, or in the process of actively selecting a job. Our hypothesis, therefore, was that high scorers on the scale would have made less progress towards obtaining a job than low scorers.

In Table 7.9 the distribution of individuals according to their scores on the IO scale is presented in a rather less condensed form than hitherto, in order to show more clearly the trend of results. This is best seen by looking at the percentages of boys who had not yet applied for any jobs by the time of the Stage I interview. These range from 11% amongst the least instrumentally oriented to 39% amongst the most instrumentally oriented boys. More detailed analysis showed that this trend was maintained even when the

Table 7.9 Relationship between scores on the Instrumental Orientation scale and progress made towards a job

	IO SCALE SCORE						
	0	1	2	3	4	5-6	Total
PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS A JOB	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Job fixed up or actually started	58	56	53	49	44	41	50
No job fixed up, but had applied	31	25	26	32	29	18	27
No job fixed up, had not applied	11	18	21	18	27	39	23
No answer etc.	0	*	*	0	*	1	*
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	108	237	442	411	309	221	1729

level of job aimed at was held constant (as, for example, in Tables 7.6 and 7.7). It is clear, therefore, that a systematic negative relationship exists between the set of values measured by scores on the IO scale and the amount of positive effort made towards obtaining a job by the time of the Stage I interview. This finding once again points up the paradox that boys who superficially appear most eager to obtain the material benefits of employment in fact turn out to be less effective than average in attaining that goal.

The results of the more sophisticated analyses, presented in this section, of the joint effects upon employment progress of personal traits and levels of aspiration, may now be summed up. Level of examinations sat, which is our best approximation at this stage to actual examination achievement, seems to have mainly influenced prior levels of aspiration, rather than the amount of progress made towards obtaining a job of the type aspired to. The same is true of rated academic ability, though in this case there were significant differences in the trend of results according to the level of job sought. Individual differences in terms of behavioural traits also had significant effects, when considered in relation to the level of job aspired to. Finally, the dimension of personal values reflected by scores on the IO scale showed a modest but systematic association with the amount of overt effort made towards obtaining employment.

7.7 Effects of home background upon progress made towards obtaining a job

In seeking the determinants of progress made towards obtaining employment, we clearly need to take into consideration not only individual differences between boys in terms of ability, personality etc., but also the effects of environmental influences and constraints. The most important sources of such environmental influence are the home, the school and the area of residence: of these, the school environment has already been covered (Section 7.5) and area effects are dealt with in Section 7.8 below. The present section is devoted to an evaluation of the effects of the home background upon effort and progress made.

It should be noted at the outset that home background factors may operate in many different ways. On the one hand, they may affect behaviour via their long-term effect upon individual character, while on the other their influence may be more immediate, though less fundamental (as in the case of parental advice – or the lack of it – in matters of job choice). Some types of home influence are much easier to encourage or counteract through outside intervention than others, so that the distinctions between them and their effects may be important from a practical viewpoint. Unfortunately, however, it is virtually impossible to determine through retrospective analysis of survey data whether home background effects are deep-rooted or relatively superficial in origin.

Table 7.10 is similar in general format to Table 7.6 etc.: the percentaged entries represent proportions of boys having a job fixed up, within cells distinguished according to the Status Group of the job aimed at and the socio-economic status of the boy's father (where known). For the purposes of the analysis the SEG classification has been condensed to three Groups, as shown.

Table 7.10 Proportions of boys with a job fixed up, within sub-samples distinguished according to Father's Socio-economic Status and CODOT Status Group of job aimed at

	FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS			
CODOT STATUS GROUP OF JOB AIMED AT	Non-manual/ supervisory+	Skilled manual	Non-skilled manual etc.*	Total
I Managerial, clerical, technical etc.	41% (81)	42% (85)	45% (49)	42% (214)
II Forces, police, skilled engineering and electrical trades etc.	57% (119)	44% (168)	47% (119)	48% (406)
III Salesmen, mechanics, welders, painters, woodworkers etc.	59% (124)	47% (220)	40% (201)	47% (544)
IV Labourers, storekeepers, non-skilled factory workers etc.	83% (57)	63% (147)	56% (136)	63% (340)
TOTAL (All who specified a job classifiable by CODOT and whose fathers' SEG was known)	58% (381)	49% (619)	46% (504)	51% (1504)

+ Includes manual foremen and supervisors

* Includes personal service and non-professional own-account workers

Looking first at the percentages in the Total row of the table, it can be seen that there is an overall tendency for sons of white collar and supervisory workers to have jobs fixed up in a greater proportion of cases than sons of manual workers. Inspection of the remaining rows of the table shows that this tendency is most marked amongst boys aiming at jobs in Status Groups III and IV, but is actually reversed in the case of boys aiming at jobs in Status Group I. In other words, it seems that the sons of non-manual workers were only at an advantage over others in obtaining employment when they were aiming at manual, rather than non-manual, jobs.

This finding was the exact opposite of what had been expected and seemed, on the face of things, rather paradoxical. In order to check that it represented a consistent set of relationships and was not due to some form of statistical fluke, it was decided to look at the relationship between progress made and the more detailed Family Occupational Status Typology, for those boys who were aiming at jobs in Status Groups II-IV. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 7.11.

Looking first at the three rows of percentages at the bottom of the table, it can be seen that there is a quite regular overall association, for boys aiming at jobs in Groups II-IV, between the type of work done by other employed male family members and the amount of progress which the boy had made towards obtaining a job. Boys from families containing non-manual workers were most likely to have applied for jobs and most likely to have been successful, while the opposite was true of boys from families containing non-skilled workers.

The percentages in the main part of the table show that this trend is enhanced when family occupational status is analysed in greater detail. As in Table 6.8, the most striking contrast is between boys from families containing two or more non-manual workers only, 68% of whom had a job fixed up, and boys from families containing two or more non-skilled workers only, only 40% of whom had a job fixed up. The size of this extreme difference may be partly due to sampling fluctuations, since the bases for percentages are relatively small, but there can be no doubt of the significance of the overall tendency for higher family occupational status to be associated with greater success in getting a job fixed up by the time of the Stage I interview.

We have been unable to arrive at any wholly convincing explanation of this finding. The boys who appear to be at an advantage through coming from "white collar" families were not, oddly enough, those who were themselves seeking white collar jobs, but those who were aiming at (predominantly) manual jobs. Thus it can scarcely be argued that these boys were profiting from fathers' and brothers' specific experience of, or contacts in, particular fields of employment. An alternative explanation which is fairly plausible sociologically would be that family occupational status, as measured here, is correlated with adherence to a particular set of personal and social values, amongst which is the disposition to look ahead and plan for the future, as opposed to leaving things to chance or "waiting to see what turns up". If this is so, we might expect boys from "white collar" or middle class families where this set of values is dominant to have jobs fixed up before leaving school, whereas boys from a more "happy-go-lucky", lower working class background would be more likely to leave things until the last moment.

Table 7.11 Relationship between occupational status of employed male family members and progress made by boy towards obtaining a job (boys aiming at jobs in Status Groups II-IV only)

		PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS OBTAINING A JOB				
FAMILY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS TYPOLOGY		Job fixed up or started	Job applied for	No job applied for	Total	Base (rewtd)
No employed brothers, father is a non-manual[+] worker	%	65	25	10	100	183
Father and brother(s) are all non-manual[+] workers	%	68	21	11	100	53
Family comprises non-manual[+] and skilled manual workers	%	61	22	17	100	70
Family comprises non-manual[+] and non-skilled[o] workers, with or without skilled manual workers	%	40	29	31	100	69
No employed brothers, father is a skilled manual worker	%	49	29	22	100	296
Father and brother(s) are skilled manual workers	%	53	24	22	100	123
Family comprises skilled manual and non-skilled[o] workers	%	50	33	16	100	175
No employed brothers, father is a non-skilled[o] worker	%	48	29	23	100	225
Father and brother(s) are non-skilled[o] workers	%	40	38	22	100	90
Family includes at least 1 non-manual[+] worker	%	60	25	15	100	375
Family includes at least 1 skilled manual worker	%	51	28	21	100	701
Family includes at least 1 non-skilled[o] worker	%	46	32	22	100	559
TOTAL (all boys aiming at jobs in CODOT Status Groups II-IV)	%	51	28	21	100	1336

[+] Includes manual foremen and supervisors

[o] Includes personal service and non-professional own-account workers

A hypothesis on these lines might explain the results in Table 7.11 (which relate to boys aiming at manual jobs only), but would still not account for the anomalously low rate of progress of boys in our sample coming from middle class homes and seeking non-manual jobs (Table 7.10). However, as has been previously remarked, this latter sub-sample of boys is likely to be highly atypical of the group from which it is drawn, since both middle class pupils and aspirants to Group I jobs are the most likely to have continued their education to the sixth form or beyond (and thus excluded themselves from our sample). It may therefore plausibly be suggested that the main underlying way in which our sub-sample is atypical is in their relative lack of "future orientation" - a characteristic which might also be reflected in their lack of progress towards employment. On a more practical level, there is also the point that aspirants to Group I jobs within our sample were presumably faced with unusually stiff competition from better-qualified applicants who had stayed on in school.

7.8 Effects of area employment environment on progress made towards obtaining a job

The results presented in the preceding sections have shown that individual differences between school-leavers with respect to ability, behavioural traits, attitudes and home background do have some significant bearing upon the amount of progress made towards obtaining a job. We now come to consider an environmental factor which is quite independent of the boys' individual characteristics, namely, differences between areas covered by the survey in terms of the employment prospects which they afforded.

The general topic of "area employment environments" has already been broached in Section 6.9 above and some of the interrelationships between area of residence and type and level of job aimed at were explored at that point. The present section continues the discussion thus begun and readers may find it helpful at the outset to refresh their memories concerning the issues raised in Section 6.9.

Table 7.12 shows that there were quite gross overall differences between area sub-samples at both ends of the "progress scale" - that is to say, both in proportions of boys who had a job fixed up and in proportions of boys who had not yet applied for any jobs by the time of the Stage I interview (the latter figure including boys who were unable to specify any particular job at which they were aiming). The proportion with a job fixed up varied from 63-66% (Areas 2, 6, 7 and 9) down to 20% (Area 5), while the proportion who had not yet applied ranged from 12-16% (Areas 2, 4, 6, 7 and 9) up to 58% (Area 5). These findings have a number of significant implications.

As was pointed out in Section 6.9, "area of residence" as used here is in the nature of a "proxy" variable, which presumably reflects the net effects of a whole complex of factors distinguishing different types of area employment environment. As such, it proves to be by far the most powerful determinant, amongst those here considered, of the amount of progress made towards obtaining a job. However, an interpretation of area differences purely in terms of employment environment could, perhaps, be challenged on the basis of evidence presented in Chapter II, which showed that our area sub-samples of school-leavers differed quite markedly from one another in terms of, for example, the distribution of academic ability and achievement and the types of secondary school attended. As has been shown in Sections 7.4 and 7.5 above, these academic characteristics are themselves related in some degree to the amount of progress made towards employment. Hence it might be argued that some part of the effects in Table 7.12, which we are attributing to area employment environments, are actually due to area differences in schooling, or in type of school-leaver.

Table 7.12 Area differences in the amount of progress made towards a job

	STAGE REACHED IN FINDING A JOB					
AREA NUMBER	Job fixed up	Job applied for	No job applied for	No answer	Total	Bases (rewtd)
(1)	47	25	28	0	100	188
(2)	65	18	16	0	100	158
(3)	36	34	30	0	100	204
(4)	49	36	15	0	100	157
(5)	20	22	58	0	100	148
(6)	64	21	15	0	100	175
(7)	66	19	15	0	100	160
(8)	54	28	18	0	100	202
(9)	63	22	12	2	100	160
(10)	34	44	21	1	100	176
TOTAL	50	27	23	0	100	1728

Whilst this possibility cannot be ignored, the size of the various effects concerned suggests that, by and large, factors relating to the nature and availability of employment vacancies are paramount in producing the observed differences. The case of the Area 5 sub-sample, where exceptional educational backwardness seems to have been associated with exceptional backwardness in terms of employment progress, does not seem to be typical of the area sub-samples in general.

On the assumption that employment openings for school-leavers are more plentiful in some areas than in others, one might expect to find this variation reflected mainly in the ratio of successful to unsuccessful job-applications, rather than in the ratio of applicants to non-applicants. While most of the variation in Table 7.12 is, indeed, of the first type, rates of application for jobs also vary to some extent by area. It seems most likely that this is some kind of secondary effect. It may be that a situation in which employers are seen to be actively seeking the services of at least some school-leavers stimulates the remainder to apply for jobs, whereas a situation where jobs are seen to be hard to get encourages an apathetic, put-off-the-evil-day attitude amongst prospective school-leavers. This would explain the correlation which can be detected in Table 7.12 between the overall proportion of boys applying for jobs within area and the proportion of successful applicants (i.e. boys with jobs actually fixed up).

It will be seen that the ten areas covered by the study can be divided into three fairly distinct groups on the basis of the proportions of boys in the corresponding sub-samples who had a job fixed up. Into the first group, where jobs seem to have been relatively easy to come by, fall Areas 2, 6, 7 and 9. The second or intermediate group comprises Areas 1, 4 and 8, while the third group, in which jobs were apparently hard to get, contains Areas 3, 5 and 10. It is of some interest to examine and compare the pooled group sub-samples, to see whether we can find out what underlies the broad distinction between "easy", "intermediate" and "hard" employment environments.

Our first line of enquiry here arises from the hypothesis that the difference between living in an "easy" and in a "hard" employment area may be more important for some types of school-leaver than for others when it comes to finding a job. It was therefore decided to carry out an analysis to determine whether the less able boys were more at the mercy of the local employment situation than the more able. The results are presented in Table 7.13.

Table 7.13(a) Proportions of boys with a job fixed up, within sub-samples distinguished according to the "employment type" of the area of residence and the Teacher's Academic Rating score

	RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING –			
"EMPLOYMENT TYPE" OF AREA	At least 1 subject at GCE	At least 3 subjects at CSE	Less able	Total
"Easy" areas (nos. 2, 6, 7, 9)	58% (152)	62% (254)	69% (173)	63% (580)
Intermediate areas (nos. 1, 4, 8)	45% (154)	53% (235)	39% (111)	48% (500)
"Hard" areas (nos. 3, 5, 10)	41% (106)	32% (182)	20% (209)	29% (497)
TOTAL	49% (413)	51% (671)	42% (493)	47% (1576)

Table 7.13(b) Proportions of boys who had applied for no jobs, within sub-samples distinguished according to "employment type" of the area of residence and the Teacher's Academic Rating score

	RATED CAPABLE OF PASSING –			
"EMPLOYMENT TYPE" OF AREA	At least 1 subject at GCE	At least 3 subjects at CSE	Less able	Total
"Easy" areas (nos. 2, 6, 7, 9)	21% (152)	13% (254)	14% (173)	15% (580)
Intermediate areas (nos. 1, 4, 8)	23% (154)	14% (235)	36% (111)	22% (500)
"Hard" areas (nos. 3, 5, 10)	18% (106)	27% (182)	54% (209)	36% (497)
TOTAL	21% (413)	17% (671)	36% (493)	24% (1576)

As with previous tables in this format, the percentaged entries represent proportions of boys within cells who had a job fixed up (Table 7.13(a)) or who had not yet applied for any jobs (Table 7.13(b)). The figures at the bottom left of each cell are bases upon which the percentages were calculated (i.e. total reweighted numbers within cell). The tables thus show the joint effects of area employment environment and rated ability upon (a) success in obtaining a job by the time of the Stage I interview and (b) lack of positive action in applying for jobs by the time of the interview.

Let us start by scanning the percentages row by row. It will be seen from Table (a) that in "easy" employment areas the less able boys were rather more likely to have a job fixed up than the rest, whereas in "hard" areas they were much less likely to have a job fixed up than were the abler boys. The opposite pattern appears in Table (b), but here the contrast between the situations in "easy" and "hard" areas is even more striking. In "intermediate" employment areas boys rated capable of passing subjects at CSE but not at GCE level were most likely to have a job fixed up and least likely to have taken no action.

If we now take the tables by columns, in each case making a comparison with the corresponding Total column, it becomes clear that the progress made towards a job by the least able boys is far more a function of their employment environment than is the case with the more able boys. Thus 69% of the least able boys in "easy" areas had jobs fixed up compared with only 20% in "hard" areas, whereas the corresponding percentages for boys rated capable of passing one or more subjects at "O" Level were 58% and 41%. The contrast is once again even more marked in Table (b): the proportion of less able boys who had made no job-applications varied from 14% in "easy" areas up to 54% in "hard" areas, whereas the trend for the ablest boys was, if anything, slightly in the other direction (21% in "easy" areas as against 18% in "hard" areas).

These results demonstrate very clearly the nature and importance of the interaction between personal traits and environmental factors in their effect upon the degree of progress made towards obtaining a job. In particular, they suggest that the response of the most able and the least able boys to a relatively unfavourable employment environment is quite different. The former were just as likely to have applied for jobs as in "easier" areas, even though their success rate was somewhat lower; the latter were promptest of all to apply in areas where jobs were plentiful, but seem often to have become paralysed or apathetic in areas where jobs were relatively scarce. Looking at the results from a different point of view, it is worth remarking that "hard" employment areas were distinguished at least as much by the proportion of boys - predominantly the less able - who had failed to apply for any jobs as by the proportion of boys who had applied unsuccessfully.

Careers Officers and others engaged in practical guidance or placement work are unlikely to be surprised by this result - or, indeed, by its corollary, namely, that the residue of school-leavers who find jobs difficult to obtain in certain areas tends to contain a much higher than average proportion of less able individuals. However, it is all the more important that the effect should be documented as part of the present enquiry. We shall have cause to refer to it again when we come to discuss sources of help and advice in Chapters IX and X.

The discovery of important interaction effects between area employment factors and individual ability, as they affect progress towards a job, prompted us to enquire whether there might be an analogous form of interaction between area factors and another important determinant of progress, namely, the level of the job aimed at.

In Table 7.14 school-leavers are classified into sub-samples according to the CODOT Status Group of the job at which they were aiming, as well as according to the area in which they lived. The analysis is therefore confined to those boys who were able to specify some definite job or type of work at which they were aiming. This means, in effect, that differences at one end of the "progress scale" - that is, differences in the proportion of boys who were unable to specify a job - are left out of account. Even so, it can be seen that there are very large variations between table cells as regards the proportion of boys who had obtained a job of the type aimed at by the time of the interview.

Overall differences, in terms of progress made, between area sub-samples and between sub-samples of boys aiming at jobs in different CODOT Status Groups have already been discussed. The pattern of results in Table 7.14 demonstrates the joint and additive effects of level of aspiration and area of residence upon the boys' chances of obtaining a job by Stage I. Scrutiny of cell entries in the body of the table suggests that both "main effects" (i.e. of level and area considered separately) and "interaction effects" (i.e. differential effects of level within area) are present. However, the patterning of these effects is rather difficult to see in a table of this form, both because of the rather large number of cells to be scanned and because of the small number of observations within certain cells, which implies a large sampling error in the corresponding percentage entries.

In order to clarify the underlying structure of the results, the data in

Table 7.14 Proportions of boys with a job fixed up, within sub-groups distinguished according to area of residence and the CODOT Status Group of the job aimed at

	CODOT STATUS GROUP OF JOB AIMED AT				
AREA NUMBER	I	II	III	IV	Total
(1)	38% (43)	41% (48)	62% (52)	50% (37)	48% (180)
(2)	45% (24)	62% (31)	71% (70)	85% (26)	68% (152)
(3)	59% (27)	31% (57)	31% (78)	43% (32)	37% (194)
(4)	1% (15)	50% (64)	47% (45)	68% (18)	46% (142)
(5)	15% (7)	13% (28)	20% (56)	35% (34)	22% (126)
(6)	56% (28)	63% (34)	57% (64)	81% (43)	64% (169)
(7)	31% (15)	79% (42)	63% (50)	77% (42)	68% (149)
(8)	50% (21)	61% (53)	49% (57)	60% (65)	56% (195)
(9)	55% (22)	52% (40)	63% (41)	80% (52)	65% (155)
(10)	32% (23)	45% (43)	26% (79)	36% (27)	33% (170)
TOTAL	42% (224)	50% (440)	48% (589)	63% (378)	51% (1631)

Table 7.14 have been grouped by combining the ten separate areas into three "area employment types", as in Table 7.13. The results of this simplified analysis are presented in Table 7.15.

It has already been noted that, overall, jobs in Group IV were more likely to have been fixed up and jobs in Group I less likely to have been fixed up than average. These differences are reflected by the percentages in the Total row of Table 7.15. If we now scan the rows corresponding to "easy" and "hard" employment areas respectively, it will be seen that the overall trend is present in exaggerated form in the former, but is actually reversed in the latter. Thus, in "easy" areas, 49% of Group I jobs, as against 80% of Group IV jobs had been fixed up, while in "hard" areas 43% of Group I jobs, as against only 38% of Group IV jobs had been fixed up. As might be expected, the pattern for "intermediate" areas falls between the "easy" and "hard" extremes, though it is closer to the former than to the latter.

Table 7.15 Proportions of boys with a job fixed up, within sub-groups distinguished according to the "employment type" of the area of residence and the CODOT Status Group of the job aimed at

"EMPLOYMENT TYPE" OF AREA	STATUS GROUP OF JOB AIMED AT				
	I	II	III	IV	Total
"Easy" areas (nos. 2, 6, 7, 9)	49% (89)	64% (148)	64% (224)	80% (164)	66% (625)
Intermediate areas (nos. 1, 4, 8)	34% (79)	51% (164)	53% (154)	58% (121)	50% (518)
"Hard" areas (nos. 3, 5, 10)	43% (57)	32% (128)	27% (212)	38% (93)	32% (490)
TOTAL (all who specified a job classifiable in CODOT terms)	42% (224)	50% (440)	48% (589)	63% (378)	51% (1631)

The same basic pattern of results may be approached from a different viewpoint by comparing columns, rather than rows, in Table 7.15. Percentages in the Total column define the overall "gradient" between "easy" and "hard" areas, in terms of proportions having a job fixed up. This gradient is much steeper than average in the case of Group IV jobs, but is both slight and inconsistent in the case of Group I jobs. The gradients for jobs in Groups II and III are intermediate between these two.

These two sets of comparisons tell essentially the same story, namely, that it is boys seeking lower-status jobs who bear the brunt of a "hard" employment situation, the prospects of boys who aim at high-status jobs being relatively unaffected. This finding is what we might have predicted from knowledge of the results in Tables 6.5 and 7.13, which showed that the least able boys, who tend to aim at lower-status jobs, are also specially vulnerable to an unfavourable employment situation.

7.9 Summary

1. At the time of the Stage I interview, 8% of the boys in the sample were found to have left school (in many cases before the official end of the school term) and started work; 84% said they hoped to start work more-or-less immediately on leaving school at the end of the current term (i.e. in August - September 1968 or April 1969); while 7% said they did not intend to start work immediately. Only those who expected to take a full-time job by September 1969 were accepted as eligible for the purposes of the study.

2. Exactly half the boys in the sample had a job fixed up by the time of the interview (including those who had already started work). Only 3% were unable to specify any job or type of work in which they were interested, leaving 47% who had one or more jobs or types of work in mind, but not yet fixed up. Only a fifth of the sample (including those who had already started work) had got their job fixed up more than one month before the date of the interview. Of the 50% with no job fixed up, 23% had not yet applied for any jobs. On the basis of these categories a rough "scale" of practical progress made towards obtaining a job was constructed.

3. It was thought that the degree of progress made, as measured in terms of this "scale", might be partially predictable by reference to the school-leaver's academic characteristics. The simple relationships between (a) type of secondary school attended, (b) level of examinations sat and (c) Teacher's Academic Rating score and degree of progress made were therefore examined. Only small differences attributable to academic factors were found, the most consistent being the tendency for CSE candidates to have made more progress than either GCE candidates or non-examination candidates. This was related to the fact that many CSE candidates had apparently been permitted to leave school and take jobs before the official end of the Summer term. The boys rated as least able by their teachers were the most likely to have made no practical move at all towards finding a job.

4. Whereas the "official" type of the school attended seemed to have only a minor influence upon the amount of progress made, it was thought that "school environment effects" might nevertheless be revealed by a more discriminating analysis in terms of the school's "institutional type". The main conclusion drawn from this analysis was that, amongst secondary modern school-leavers, those who had attended larger and (relatively) more academic schools had made significantly more progress towards obtaining jobs than those from smaller and less academic schools. This effect persisted undiminished when the analysis was confined to non-examination candidates and thus cannot plausibly be attributed to individual differences between leavers from different types of school. It is also unlikely to be a concealed area effect. However, we are not in a position to say exactly how these particular aspects of the school environment might have affected leavers' progress towards employment.

5. It was found that boys aiming at jobs in CODOT Status Group IV were significantly more likely than average to have them fixed up by the time of the interview, whereas boys seeking jobs in Status Group I had made less progress than average. The question was also raised as to whether there might be an "interaction" between academic ability and level of occupational aspiration as determinants of progress made (since the "market value" of qualifications or ability of a given level is likely to vary according to the level of job aimed at). Further analysis showed that an interaction of the predicted kind did occur in the case of Teacher's Academic Rating score; for example, most progress had been made by relatively able boys who were willing to accept relatively low-status jobs. In general, however, it appeared that individual differences in academic level had had their main effect in determining levels of occupational aspiration, rather than the degree of progress made towards obtaining a job of the type aspired to.

6. A similar analysis (i.e. taking account of the level of job aimed at) was carried out to explore possible effects of behavioural traits (as rated by teachers) upon the amount of effort and progress made towards finding a job. Extraversion - Introversion was found to be irrelevant here but quite marked effects of Co-operativeness and Social Maturity were found. Higher Social Maturity scores were throughout associated with a better-than-average success-rate in getting jobs fixed up. The effect of Co-operativeness was more complex, since it was associated with a high success-rate in securing lower-status jobs, but with a low success-rate in securing higher-status jobs. This may be related to the fact that some boys had obtained (predominantly) lower-status jobs by a policy of passively accepting what was offered - which may be a reflection of the "Co-operativeness" trait - rather than by positive effort on their own part. There was found to be a moderate but consistent negative relationship between boys' scores on the Instrumental Orientation scale and the amount of overt effort which they had made towards obtaining a job, this was consistent with the "lack of involvement in work" interpretation of scale scores.

7. An unexpected relationship was revealed by an analysis designed to show the relationship between the boy's progress towards employment and his father's socio-economic status. Sons of fathers in non-manual or supervisory jobs had made more progress than others, except in the case of those boys who were themselves aiming at non-manual (i.e. Status Group I) jobs, where there was a slight trend in the opposite direction. A more detailed analysis by family occupational status confirmed that there was a consistent tendency, amongst those aiming at jobs in Groups II-IV, for a "white collar" family background to be associated with above-average effort and progress towards employment, whereas the presence of non-skilled workers in the family was associated with below-average progress. Discounting for the moment the anomalous results for those seeking Group I jobs, it seems possible that the effect may reflect the influence of an emphasis in middle class homes upon looking ahead and planning for the future in such matters as finding employment. There are several other instances in which the results for boys seeking Group I jobs have been out of line with those for the rest of the sample. This may be because these boys are atypical of those aspiring to higher-level jobs, most of whom would tend to stay on into their sixth school year and thus be excluded from the present sample.

8. There were large differences between area sub-samples of school-leavers, in terms of the average amount of progress made towards obtaining a job. Proportions within area of boys having a job fixed up at the time of the interview ranged from 66% down to 20%. This variation was probably due mainly to differences between areas considered as "employment environments" and, in particular, to differences in the number of vacancies available locally to school-leavers. These would have had a direct effect on the number of jobs fixed up, but there appeared also to be an indirect effect upon the boys' promptness or tardiness in applying for jobs.

9. On the basis of overall differences in rates of progress, the ten area sub-samples were combined into three categories, representing "easy", "intermediate" and "hard" employment environments, respectively. Further analysis using these categories showed that differences between "easy" and "hard" employment environments were reflected mainly in the

experience of the least able boys and of boys aiming at lower-status jobs. Boys in these (largely overlapping) categories had made much progress than average in "easy" environments, but seemed to be not merely unsuccessful but also apathetic as regards applying for jobs in "hard" areas. The level of effort made and success achieved by abler boys and those seeking higher-status (i.e. Group I) jobs varied much less as between different types of area.

CHAPTER VIII

KNOWLEDGE AND EXPECTATIONS OF THE JOB

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter we fill in more detail about the sample boys' hopes, ideas and expectations concerning the jobs which, as we saw in Chapters VI and VII, nearly all of them had in mind and half of them claimed to have fixed up. Because of the timing of Stage I of the enquiry, the answers upon which our analyses are based relate in virtually all cases to the period after the most basic vocational decisions - certainly as they affect the first job entered after leaving school - had been made, though before employment actually commenced. This means that we cannot claim to throw much light on the actual psychological processes of vocational choice, interesting and important though these are. To cover that topic it would have been necessary to carry out a preliminary stage of the enquiry, say 12-18 months before the boys left school and before their occupational intentions had crystallized. Unfortunately, this was not possible within the time and resources available.

The scope of our interpretations is similarly limited when we come to consider job-knowledge. In considering the results it must be remembered that levels of knowledge at the time of Stage I may well have been higher (though not lower) than they were at the point when occupational goals were determined. That is to say, it is entirely possible that some boys fixed on a job to aim at, or even got a job fixed up, while knowing very little about it, but had improved their knowledge of that particular job by the time they were interviewed. The measurement of job-knowledge also presents numerous difficulties where a wide range of different jobs is involved and our attempts to overcome these have been only partially successful.

The chapter is arranged as follows. Section 8.2 deals briefly with the evidence on how long before the interview (and before leaving school) those boys with a job or a type of work in mind had first thought of it. Section 8.3 presents analyses based upon various measures of job-knowledge. In Section 8.4 the boys' expectations or aspirations concerning training and apprenticeship are analysed in more detail and related to various personal and environmental variables. In Section 8.5 expectations concerning rates of pay are discussed in relation to the training status of the job aimed at and the boy's academic level. In Section 8.6 attitudes and expectations concerning Further Education are analysed, again in relation to job type and academic level. Finally, some evidence on what the boys found attractive in their prospective jobs is presented and discussed in Section 8.7.

8.2 How long before interview boy thought of the job fixed up or sought

In Chapter VII it was shown that only half the total sample of boys had a job fixed up by the time of the Stage I interview and that, of these, only two fifths (i.e. 20% overall) had got their job fixed up as much as one month before the interview. For the great majority, therefore, the actual business of obtaining a job was concentrated within the few weeks around the date of leaving school. This prompts one to ask whether the selection of a job or type of work to aim at is also something which was postponed until the very end of the boys' school careers.

Table 8.1 How long before interview boy first thought of job, analysed by whether or not job had been fixed up by time of interview

HOW LONG AGO THOUGHT OF JOB FIXED UP OR MAIN JOB SOUGHT	Boys with a job fixed up	Boys with no job fixed up	Total
	%	%	%
Over 2 years ago	14	12	13
Over 1 year and up to 2 years ago	12	14	13
Over 6 months and up to 1 year ago	22	21	21
Over 3 months and up to 6 months ago	16	17	17
Over 1 month and up to 3 months ago	22	16	19
One month or less ago	13	11	12
Don't know/Can't remember/No answer	2	4	3
Had not thought of any jobs	–	5	3
TOTAL	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	858	868	1726

Table 8.1 is based on answers given to the question: "About how long ago did you first think of doing a (JOB)?" Now, it is obvious that answers given to such a question will be imprecise. Some of the imprecision arises because the idea of aiming at a particular type of job must often develop gradually, rather than occurring at a particular point in time. Apart from this, it is notoriously difficult to "fix" mental events in time, unless they are associated with some particular external occurrence. Within such limitations, however, the data are probably valid as a rough indication of the way in which the boys' thinking about jobs developed over time.

From the Total column it can be seen that only a quarter of the boys claimed to have thought of their intended job more than one year before the date of the interview - that is, more than one year before leaving school. On the other hand, almost one third had thought of their intended job only within the preceding three months. One conclusion which follows from this is that most of the boys in the sample must have been perfectly clear about when they intended to leave school long before they had any specific ideas about what they were going to do after leaving. Our experience in drawing the sample for this study showed, it is true, that a small proportion of boys (about 12-13% - see Appendix A) change their minds at the last moment about whether to leave school or stay on and it is likely that some, at least, of this mind-changing results from thinking about specific employment plans. However, individuals who make educational decisions with specific occupational goals in view seem to be very much in a minority within our population.

The above conclusion will not come as a surprise to those with experience in the careers guidance field. A less predictable finding is that there is virtually no difference, in terms of how long ago they thought of their intended occupations, between boys who had and boys who had not got a job fixed up by the time of our interview. It seems, therefore, that differences between boys in the amount of practical progress made towards employment by the time of the interview are not attributable to the fact that some boys commence their "vocational thinking" earlier than others Perhaps the key dimension of individual differences lies in the ability to translate such thinking into positive goal-directed behaviour.

8.3 Level of knowledge concerning selected aspects of the job aimed at

Given that most boys' occupational intentions did not crystallize until quite close to the date upon which they left school (if then), a question which naturally arises is, how much did they actually know about the jobs or types of work to which they proposed to commit themselves. In this section we therefore consider the available data on levels of job knowledge.

In attempting to measure job knowledge, we were severely hampered by the heterogeneous nature of the jobs aimed at. If all the boys had been aiming at similar jobs, it might have been possible to devise an objective test consisting of factual questions about the job and thus to obtain a "knowledge score" based upon the number of questions each boy was able to answer correctly. However, it was obviously impossible to produce as many different tests as there were different jobs and an alternative approach had therefore to be sought.

In the event two approaches were used, though it must be admitted that neither provides an entirely satisfactory answer to the problem. Boys who had a job fixed up at the time of the interview were asked whether they had a clear idea, just a rough idea or no idea at all of the kind of work they would be given to do when they started in their jobs. This straightforwardly subjective approach is open to the obvious objections that the ignorant are not always aware of the depth of their ignorance and may in any case be motivated to conceal it. To provide a somewhat more objective set of criteria, all boys who had either a job fixed up or a main job in mind were asked a number of questions about the pay they expected to receive, the training status of the prospective job and whether they expected to undertake any further education in connection with it. It was assumed that boys who had a reasonable grasp of what their future jobs entailed would be able to give a definite answer to these questions and that those who were vague or ignorant would not. There is, of course, no guarantee that "definite" answers were also true and accurate ones, so this type of "test" of knowledge probably tends to favour imaginative guessers and optimists at the expense of more cautious individuals who preferred to be sure of their facts before giving a definite answer. Nevertheless, the responses perhaps give some overall idea of the boys' level of knowledge about their intended employment.

Table 8.2 Proportions of boys with and boys without a job fixed up who were able to give certain details about their prospective jobs

DETAILS OF PROSPECTIVE JOB KNOWN TO BOY	Job fixed up	No job fixed up, but a main job in mind	Total
	%	%	%
Boy knew whether or not he would have any special training status (e.g. apprenticeship)	94	91	92
Boy knew how much he expected to be paid on starting work	93	86	90
Boy knew whether he would be doing any Further Education on starting in prospective job	91	94	92
Boy felt he had at least a rough idea of the sort of work he would do in job fixed up	77		
TOTAL (all boys with a job fixed up or in mind)	100	100	100
Bases for percentages (reweighted)	858	825	1683

Table 8.2 gives a comparison of the levels of job-knowledge, according to the indices just described, of boys who had and boys who had not got a job fixed up by the time of the interview. The bottom entry in the leftmost column shows that almost a quarter of the former did not have even a rough idea of the kind of work they would be given to do when they started in their jobs. This finding suggests that many vocational decisions may be based upon inadequate job knowledge and it is unfortunate that a corresponding question was not put to boys with a job in mind but not yet fixed up.

Rather surprisingly, the other entries in the table give a more optimistic impression of the boys' level of knowledge, in that at least 91% of those with a job fixed up were able to give a definite answer on each of the three topics of training status, pay and further education. More surprisingly still, the apparent level of knowledge is very little lower in the case of boys who had not yet got the job fixed up; indeed, the proportion with definite expectations concerning further education is actually higher.

It seems, therefore, that we have fixed upon three aspects of the prospective job about which the vast majority of boys have definite impressions before they actually start work. Two important reservations should, however, be stressed. The first is that, as already implied, some of the boys may have been mistaken in their prior impressions on any or all of these topics. The second is that, even granting that the impressions were accurate, it is certain that a proportion of job aspirants were destined never to obtain jobs of the type which they had in mind at the time of the Stage I interview.

This last point needs to be kept in mind when interpreting the results presented in the next section, which concern the boys' more detailed expectations and aspirations. Information on these was obtained for about 90% of those boys who had a job fixed up or a job in mind, namely, those who claimed to know the training status and approximate rate of pay of their intended jobs and whether or not the jobs would entail Further Education. These three aspects of the job turn out to be fairly closely interrelated, owing to the fact that manual apprentices normally receive a relatively low rate of pay during their training, but are also more likely than non-apprentices to receive Further Education. As we shall see, the boys questioned were aware of these implications of the apprentice/non-apprentice distinction, but this, of course, does not mean that all those who aspired to apprenticeships were actually destined to obtain them.

8.4 Expectations and aspirations concerning apprenticeships

In Chapter VI above we described how several more or less detailed versions of the CODOT system of occupational classification were derived for the purposes of this study. The classifications were then applied to the boys' descriptions of jobs fixed up and jobs sought and various conclusions were drawn concerning the effects of personal, school and home background factors upon occupational choices and aspirations.

As was remarked in Chapter VI, CODOT as such takes no direct account of the "training status" dimension of employment, which is clearly of great importance where school-leavers are concerned. In order to remedy this deficiency, and "apprentice/non-apprentice" criterion was introduced into the CONCODOT 1 classification, using the information to be discussed in this section. However, the distinction was largely obscured in the case of the CONCODOT 2 and CODOT Status Group classifications, which are the ones exclusively used in the analyses presented in Chapters VI and VII. Thus none of the analysis so far has done proper justice to the apprentice/non-apprentice distinction, even though this is more familiar than the CODOT criteria and is generally recognized as being of great significance where young male school-leavers are concerned. In this section, therefore, we shall present a number of results which to some extent parallel those in Chapters VI and VII, but distinguish jobs in terms of training status rather than CODOT groups.

While conceptually quite distinct, the CODOT classification and a classification in terms of training status are in practice somewhat interrelated. The picture is complicated by the fact that, whereas non-manual occupations certainly vary as regards the amount of training given, the formal training-status distinction between apprentices (or the like) and non-apprentices is usually made only in the case of manual occupations. However, within the domain of manual employment, there is a substantial correlation between classification of jobs by CODOT Status and classification by training status. This may readily be seen from Table 8.3.

The unbracketed percentage entries in Table 8.3 are based upon column totals, while the bracketed entries are percentages based upon the grand total of boys included in the table. From the former it can be seen that the proportion of apprentices falls steeply from 79%, amongst boys aiming at jobs

Table 8.3 Relationship between job classification by CODOT Status Group and classification by training status (for jobs aimed at classifiable in CODOT terms)

	CODOT STATUS GROUP OF JOB			
TRAINING STATUS OF JOB	Group I Non-manual	Group II "Elite" manual	Group III "Middle" manual	Group IV "Lower" manual
	%	%	%	%
Apprenticeship etc.	–	79 (21%)	62 (22%)	15 (4%)
Non-apprenticed, or not known	100 (14%)	21 (6%)	38 (14%)	85 (20%)
TOTAL	100 (14%)	100 (27%)	100 (36%)	100 (23%)
Bases (reweighted)	224	440	590	378

in CODOT Status Group II, to 62% within Status Group III and only 15% within Status Group IV. This is what we might expect, bearing in mind that the status level of manual occupations is related to their skill level, which in turn correlates with the type of training received. On the other hand, the association between the two methods of classification is by no means complete, as can be seen, for example, from the fact that Status Group III contains substantial proportions of both apprenticed and non-apprenticed jobs.

It is clear, then, that whereas the apprentice/non-apprentice distinction does not apply to jobs in CODOT Status Group I (i.e. to non-manual jobs), it divides up manual occupations in a somewhat different way from the Status Group classification and hence merits separate consideration. In the analyses which follow it has been necessary to retain the "Non-manual" group for purposes of comparison, even though results for this group are identical with those for CODOT Status Group I shown in tables in Chapters VI and VII. Manual jobs, on the other hand, have been subdivided simply into "Apprenticed" and "Non-apprenticed", giving a threefold classification overall. It has been assumed that boys aiming at manual jobs who were unable to specify a training status belong in the "non-apprenticed" category.

The format of Table 8.4–8.6 is made slightly complicated by the need to analyse the same set of data in such a way as to focus upon two separate issues, namely: (a) What determined whether a boy decided to aim at a non-manual job, a manual apprenticeship, or a non-apprenticed manual job? (b) Given the type of job at which the boy was aiming, what affected his chances of having a job of that type fixed up by the time of the Stage I interview? Each table is divided into two parts: part (a) shows percentages of boys who were aiming at non-manual, apprenticed and non-apprenticed jobs respectively, each category being subdivided into those who had and those who had not yet got a job fixed up; part (b) shows proportions of all those aiming at a particular type of job who had got such a job fixed up.

Table 8.4(a) shows, as expected, that the boy's academic level, as measured

Table 8.4(a) Job type/training status aimed at and whether job fixed up or not, analysed by level of examinations sat

JOB TYPE/TRAINING STATUS AND WHETHER JOB FIXED UP OR NOT	EXAMINATIONS SAT Wholly or mainly GCE[o]	Wholly or mainly CSE[+]	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Non-manual job fixed up	16) 41	13) 29	1) 3	5) 13
Non-manual job sought	25)	16)	2)	8)
Apprent'd manual job fixed up	14) 26	25) 45	19) 47	20) 45
Apprent'd manual job sought	11)	19)	28)	24)
Other manual job fixed up	13) 26	13) 21	27) 44	22) 37
Other manual job sought	13)	8)	17)	15)
Job aimed at not classifiable	6	4	2	3
No job fixed up or in mind	1	2	3	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	153	432	1141	1726

(b) Proportions of boys with job fixed up, within cells defined by job type/training status and level of examinations sat

JOB TYPE/TRAINING STATUS	EXAMINATIONS SAT Wholly or mainly GCE[o]	Wholly or mainly CSE[+]	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
Non-manual job aimed at	38% (63)	44% (124)	42% (37)	42% (224)
Apprent'd manual job aimed at	55% (39)	57% (194)	41% (538)	45% (772)
Other manual job aimed at	50% (41)	63% (89)	61% (507)	61% (637)
All with a job fixed up or in mind	46% (143)	54% (407)	50% (1083)	51% (1633)

[o] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

[+] Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

by the level of examinations sat (or the age of leaving school) affected the type of job at which he elected to aim (cf Table 6.3). GCE candidates were more likely than others to aim at non-manual employment and non-examination candidates very much less likely to do so. Both CSE candidates and those sitting no examinations were much more likely than GCE candidates to aspire to apprenticeships, while non-examination candidates (who are identical for practical purposes with fourth year leavers) were much the most likely to be aiming at non-apprenticed manual jobs. The only rather surprising feature of the table is that as many as a quarter of GCE candidates were aiming no higher than non-apprenticed manual work.

As already explained, Table 8.4(b) takes levels of aspiration for granted and focusses rather upon the question of how much progress boys of different types had made towards their occupational goal by the time of the Stage I interview. Unbracketed entries are percentages within table cells who had got a job fixed up by the time of the interview, while bracketed entries give the number of cases per cell (reweighted) (cf Table 7.6).

From the top row of entries in the table it can be seen that there is little variation in rate of progress by academic level, amongst boys who were aiming at non-manual employment. However, amongst those who aspired to apprenticeships (second row), CSE candidates had the highest (57%) and non-examination candidates the lowest (41%) rate of progress, while amongst those aiming at non-apprenticed manual work, CSE candidates and those leaving without sitting examinations had both made more progress (63% and 61%) than had GCE candidates (50%).

In order to see how the additive effects of differentials in level of aspiration and differentials in rate of progress affected the situation found at Stage I, let us now turn again briefly to Table 8.4(a). The paired entries in the second main row of the table show that, of the 45% of CSE candidates who were aiming at apprenticeships, 25% claimed to have obtained a suitable job while 19% were still looking. On the other hand, of the 47% of non-examination candidates with similar aspirations, only 19% had got an apprenticeship fixed up, whereas 28% were still looking. Looking in the same way at the third main row of the table, we find that a majority (27%) of the 44% of non-examination candidates aiming at non-apprenticed manual work had got a job fixed up and that the same is true of CSE candidates (13% out of 21%). However, only half (13%) of the 26% of GCE candidates who aspired only to non-apprenticed manual work had got jobs by Stage I.

The effects demonstrated in Tables 8.4, while interesting and significant so far as they go, clearly explain only some of the observed variation in occupational aspirations and in rates of progress towards employment. Let us now use the same method of analysis to examine the effects of another variable.

Tables 8.5(a) and (b) show the effects of variations in White Collar Orientation, as measured by a scale (see Chapter V) upon type of job aimed at and rate of progress towards obtaining a job of the desired type. From Table (a) it is clear that WCO score is a better and more systematic predictor than was academic level of the level of job to which boys aspired (cf also Table 6.6(a)). Since WCO score has been interpreted as a direct measure of occupational aspiration, this is what we would expect. In Table (b) there were insufficient cases in one of the "non-manual" cells to allow a "rate of progress" figure to be calculated, but since we are here chiefly

Table 8.5(a) Job-type/training status aimed at and whether job fixed up or not, analysed by score on White Collar Orientation

JOB TYPE/TRAINING STATUS AND WHETHER JOB FIXED UP OR NOT	WCO SCALE SCORE 0-4		5-6		7-9		Total	
	%		%		%		%	
Non-manual job fixed up	1	4	2	6	12	27	5	13
Non-manual job sought	2		4		15		8	
Apprent'd manual job fixed up	15	35	27	56	21	48	20	45
Apprent'd manual job sought	20		29		27		24	
Other manual job fixed up	36	61	23	38	16	25	22	37
Other manual job sought	25		15		9		15	
Job aimed at not classifiable	2		2		5		3	
No job fixed up or in mind	4		2		2		3	
TOTAL	100		100		100		100	
Bases (reweighted)	459		571		697		1727	

Table 8.5(b) Proportions of boys with job fixed up, within cells defined by job type/training status and White Collar Orientation score

JOB TYPE/TRAINING STATUS	WCO SCALE SCORE 0-4	5-6	7-9	Total
Non-manual job aimed at	(16) +	(32) 39%	(177) 43%	(224) 42%
Apprent'd manual job aimed at	(151) 43%	(308) 48%	(313) 44%	(772) 45%
Other manual job aimed at	(264) 58%	(208) 61%	(165) 64%	(637) 61%
All with a job fixed up or in mind	(430) 52%	(548) 53%	(654) 49%	(1633) 51%

[+] No percentage figure is given for this cell, since the base for calculation of percentages is too low for reliability.

interested in the apprentice/non-apprentice distinction, this is not crucial. The interesting thing about the rates of progress shown is how little they vary with WCO score. In short, therefore, White Collar Orientation is a good predictor of level of occupational aspiration, but fails to predict the degree of progress made by Stage I towards obtaining a job of the type aspired to.

The results presented in Tables 8.4 and 8.5 show that both level of occupational aspiration, with particular reference to apprenticeships, and rates of progress towards obtaining apprenticeships (i.e. by Stage I) are to some extent predictable from a knowledge of the personal characteristics of the boys concerned. However, individual differences are clearly not the whole story, as can be seen from Tables 8.6(a) and (b). These tables are similar in format to the preceding ones, the predictor variable in this case being the "employment type" of the area in which the boy lived and was seeking employment.

The derivation of the "employment type of area" variable was explained in Section 7.8 above. "Easy" areas were those where the proportions of boys with a job fixed up by Stage I were highest, while "hard" areas were those where these proportions were lowest. The basis upon which the variable was formed is reflected in the trend of percentages in the "Total" row of Table 8.6(b), which indicates that there was a very substantial differential between areas as regards the amount of progress made in obtaining jobs. The interest in Table (b) lies in examining to what extent the trend for different types of jobs aspired to reflects the overall difference between areas.

The distribution of types of job aspired to in a particular area is, of course, logically independent of the ease or difficulty of obtaining jobs in that area. There is thus no inherent reason why the "total aspiring" figures in any given row of Table 8.6(a) should vary. In practice, one might expect "market forces" to operate by forcing at least some boys to accept whatever types of job were available locally, rather than the types of job to which they originally aspired. Since areas differ in the range of occupational opportunities which they offer, this would tend to produce area differences in the distribution of types of job eventually entered by sample boys. However, the variation which is in evidence in Table (a) does not seem to be of this kind, but rather to represent some genuine differences between areas in terms of occupational preferences, which had not yet been obliterated by the operation of the market forces referred to.

Thus, scanning first the figures in Table (a) which give totals aspiring to particular types of job by area, we find that the proportion of boys aiming at apprenticeships was highest (54%) in the "hard" areas and lowest (38%) in the "easy" areas. In view of the small numbers of areas in each group, differences of this kind must be interpreted with great caution, bearing in mind the possible effects of chance. However, it may well be significant that our three "hard" areas were all old-established centres of "traditional" but, in many cases, declining industries, where the apprenticeship system has deep roots and where working class parents would have been very much aware of the advantages, in terms of status and security, of skilled (i.e. apprenticed) over non-skilled manual jobs. The high relative popularity of apprenticeships in "hard" areas was balanced by the higher proportion of boys in "easy" areas who were aiming at non-apprenticed

Table 8.6(a) Job type/training status aimed at and whether job fixed up or not, analysed by "employment type" of area

JOB TYPE/TRAINING STATUS AND WHETHER JOB FIXED UP OR NOT	"EMPLOYMENT TYPE" OF AREA			
	"Easy" areas	Inter-mediate areas	"Hard" areas	Total
	%	%	%	%
Non-manual job fixed up	7) 14	5) 14	5) 11	5) 13
Non-manual job sought	7)	10)	6)	8)
Apprent'd manual job fixed up	26) 38	20) 44	14) 54	20) 45
Apprent'd manual job sought	12)	24)	40)	24)
Other manual job fixed up	31) 45	23) 36	11) 28	22) 37
Other manual job sought	14)	13)	17)	15)
Job aimed at not classifiable	3	3	3	3
No job fixed up or in mind	1	2	5	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	652	548	528	1727

Table 8.6(b) Proportions of boys with job fixed up, within cells defined by job type/training status and "employment type" of area

JOB TYPE/TRAINING STATUS	"easy" areas	Inter-mediate areas	"Hard" areas	Total
Non-manual job aimed at	49% (89)	34% (79)	43% (57)	42% (224)
Apprent'd manual job aimed at	69% (246)	45% (241)	26% (285)	45% (772)
Other manual job aimed at	69% (291)	64% (198)	40% (148)	61% (637)
All with a job fixed up or in mind	66% (625)	51% (518)	32% (490)	51% (1633)

manual work (45% compared with 28%). There was little difference between types of area in terms of the proportion of boys aiming at non-manual employment.

Let us now turn to Table (b). As already pointed out, the overall differential between area types in terms of progress made is inherent in the method of classification; on inspection, however, the nature and extent of the differential proves to vary according to the type of job aimed at, as can be seen by scanning the unbracketed figures in each row. Thus, in the case of boys aiming at non-manual jobs, the percentage trend is relatively slight and inconsistent as we move from "easy" to "hard" areas (49% - 34% - 43%). A much stronger trend is apparent when we look at "other" (i.e. non-apprenticed) manual jobs (69% - 64% - 40%), but by far the steepest gradient between "easy" and "hard" employment areas is shown by the percentages of boys aiming at manual apprenticeships who claimed to have obtained them (69% - 45% - 26%).

The net result of these area differences, first in the "popularity" of particular types of job and, secondly, in the amount of progress made towards obtaining jobs of the type aimed at can be seen by turning again to Table 8.6(a) and comparing the "fixed up" and "sought" percentages in each main row of the table. In the case of boys aiming at non-manual jobs (a small minority) the proportions with and without jobs fixed up balance each other in both "easy" and "hard" areas, least progress having for some reason been made in "intermediate" areas. In the case of boys aiming at non-apprenticed manual jobs (some 37% overall), those with jobs fixed up predominated (31% versus 14% and 23% versus 13%) in both "easy" and "intermediate" areas, but in "hard" areas there were more boys still looking for such jobs (17%) than claimed to have them fixed up (11%). However, by far the most striking net effect appears in the case of boys aiming at manual apprenticeships, who formed the largest single category overall (45%). In "easy" areas 26% of boys had apprenticeships fixed up, as against 12% who were still looking; in "intermediate" areas the corresponding percentages were 20% and 24%; while in "hard" areas only 14% had obtained apprenticeships, as against no less than 40% who were still looking (or hoping).

The results in Tables 8.6 add a further and important dimension to those already presented in Table 7.15. The latter showed that the differential between "easy" and "hard" employment areas could be accounted for in terms of differences in the amount of progress made by boys aiming at manual - and especially lower-level manual - employment. Tables 8.6 show that "hard" areas are also typified by the high proportion of boys who were seeking manual apprenticeships, but had not yet obtained them. Until the results from Stages II and III of the enquiry are examined it is, of course, impossible to be categorical about the eventual distribution of jobs as it emerged a few months after the boys had left school. However, the Stage I data strongly suggest a situation in "hard" employment areas in which the demand for manual apprenticeships, particularly of the traditional "craft" type, was unusually high, while the supply of such jobs was particularly deficient. What the consequences of this imbalance were in terms of disappointment, reduced aspirations or unemployment remains to be seen.

8.5 Expectations concerning pay

It has already been pointed out that the three headings under which we chose to probe the boys' expectations of employment, namely, training status, pay and Further Education, are in practice interlinked. The point is illustrated by Tables 8.7, in which expected pay rates are analysed by the training **status** of the job at which the boy said he was aiming.

It will be recalled from Section 8.3 above that 94% of those boys who claimed to have a job fixed up and 87% of those who had a job in mind, though not yet fixed up, said they knew roughly how much they expected to be paid to start with if they obtained a job of the type at which they were aiming. The figures volunteered (1968-69 pay rates) are shown in grouped form in Tables 8.7. As expected, there is a clear gradation in expected rates of pay as between boys aiming at non-manual work, who were expecting by far the highest rates, on average, and manual apprentices, who were expecting the lowest rates, with boys aiming at non-apprenticed manual work intermediate between the two. Amongst those boys who had not yet got a job fixed up (Table (b)), those who were hoping to become manual apprentices seemed to be the best-informed about pay, since 90% were able to give a definite answer, as against 84% of manual non-apprentices. More generally, this finding may reflect a high level of awareness amongst school-leavers of the connection between apprenticeship and low starting pay. The contrast between, on the one hand, low starting pay but good career prospects in a skilled occupation and, on the other hand, rather higher starting pay but poor career prospects in an unskilled occupation, is certainly one which is frequently drawn by both amateur and professional careers advisers. However, it is worth re-emphasizing here that the average starting pay of manual non-apprentices is much lower than that of boys entering non-manual occupations and that only 12% of the former, as against 33% of the latter, had secured jobs paying as much as £7.00 per week.

It seems clear that the pay rates of school-leavers entering their first jobs are a reflection of standard pay levels in the type of job entered, rather than being directly linked to the qualifications of other personal characteristics of the entrant. However, Table 8.4(a) showed that school-leavers of different academic levels, as measured by age of leaving and/or examinations sat, tend to find their way into different types of job. In particular, relatively high proportions of GCE candidates seemed to be destined for non-manual work, of CSE candidates for apprenticeships and of non-examination candidates for non-apprenticed manual work. It is therefore of some interest to see whether these tendencies are reflected in the relationship between academic level and expected starting pay. This relationship is exhibited, separately for those with and those without a job fixed up, in Tables 8.8.

The first point to be noted is that Tables (a) and (b) both show a similar and quite regular overall relationship between academic level and expected pay, with GCE candidates expecting to earn most and non-examination candidates (early leavers) least, and CSE candidates intermediate. This could quite easily be misinterpreted as showing a direct effect of academic level upon expected rate of pay. In fact, the relatively high rates expected by GCE candidates are due as much to their lack of interest in low-paid apprenticeships and willingness to consider (higher-paid) non-apprenticed manual work, as to their preoccupation with the highest-paid non-manual jobs. Conversely, the low pay expectations of non-examination candidates do not

Table 8.7 Relationship between training status and expected rate of pay Table 8.7

EXPECTED WEEKLY PAY	(a) Boys with a job fixed up				(b) Boys with no job yet fixed up			
	OCCUPATION/TRAINING STATUS				OCCUPATION/TRAINING STATUS			
	Non-Manual occupations	Apprentices	Non-apprentices	Total	Non-Manual occupations	Apprentices	Non-apprentices	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Less than £4.00	6	29	13	19	7	26	16	20
£4.00 - £4.99	6	29	20	22	12	33	14	24
£5.00 - £5.99	21	26	36	30	20	27	37	29
£6.00 - £6.99	34	12	19	18	23	7	16	12
£7.00 and over	33	4	12	11	39	8	17	15
All who gave a definite answer	100 % 98	100 % 94	100 % 92	100 % 94	100 % 83	100 % 90	100 % 84	100 % 87
All who could not give a definite answer	2	6	8	6	17	10	16	13
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	94	350	386	831	130	420	250	800

Table 8.8 Expected weekly pay analysed by level of examinations sat Table 8.8

EXPECTED WEEKLY PAY	(a) Boys with a job fixed up				(b) Boys with no job yet fixed up			
	Wholly or mainly GCE+	Wholly or mainly CSE°	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total	Wholly or mainly GCE+	Wholly or mainly CSE°	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Less than £4.00	7	10	23	18	4	6	26	19
£4.00 - £4.99	6	17	26	22	11	18	28	24
£5.00 - £5.99	26	30	31	30	32	28	28	29
£6.00 - £6.99	37	27	13	18	22	24	7	13
£7.00 and over	24	16	7	11	32	24	10	16
All who gave a definite answer	100 % 91	100 % 97	100 % 92	100 % 93	100 % 80	100 % 88	100 % 87	100 % 86
All who could not give a definite answer	9	3	8	7	20	12	13	14
GRAND TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	69	232	558	858	83	194	547	825

+ Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat at least 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

° Sat at least 1 subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

reflect an exclusive interest in the least skilled jobs (i.e. manual non-apprenticeships), but, on the contrary, a preoccupation with apprenticeships combined with lack of interest in non-manual work. As for CSE candidates, their intermediate position with respect to pay probably reflects their interest both in (high-paid) non-manual work and in (low-paid) apprenticeships. Over and above these effects, of course, it is entirely possible that our crude threefold classification of jobs fails to reflect variations affecting pay rates. For example, the "non-apprenticed manual" jobs aimed at by GCE candidates may well have been better paid, on average, than the "non-apprenticed manual" jobs aimed at by non-examination candidates.

It has already been noted that the proportion of boys able to specify an expected rate of pay was only slightly higher (93%) in the case of those with a job fixed up than it was in the case of those with a job in mind but not yet fixed up (86%). The entries in the two rows at the bottom of Tables 8.8 show that it was boys sitting GCE examinations who were the least well informed, since, amongst those still seeking work, as many as 20% could not give a pay estimate. It is not clear why this should be so. More generally, the similar patterns of results revealed by the (a) and (b) parts of both Tables 8.7 and Table 8.8 suggest that boys with no job yet fixed up (but a job in mind) possessed information which was not noticeably less accurate and realistic than that possessed by boys who had already obtained a job (as they claimed). In particular, the latter group of boys seems to have had quite a good implicit grasp of the relationship between type of job and likely level of pay.

8.6 Expectations and aspirations concerning Further Education

In preceding sections we have emphasized the importance, both in the boys' perceptions and in fact, of the training status/apprenticeship dimension of their prospective jobs. Consideration of apprenticeship, or of modern industrial and vocational training for school-leavers in general, leads us directly to the topic of Further Education.

The general outlines of the Further Education (FE) scene as it affects younger school-leavers will probably be familiar to most readers. Technical Colleges and Colleges of Further Education, which are administered by Local Education Authorities, normally maintain a close liaison with firms and employers in their areas and aim to provide courses in appropriate technical subjects at levels ranging from "professional" down to "operative" and "pre-apprenticeship". Many employers, for their part, make attendance at such courses an integral - and compulsory - part of training schemes designed for school-leavers and other young workers and arrange for them to attend institutions of Further Education on a "day release" or "block release" basis.

The development of integrated industrial training programmes for school-leavers was, of course, much accelerated and encouraged by the passing of the Industrial Training Act (1964), which gave employers an added incentive to organize or participate in approved schemes. However, it is still very far from being true that all young people entering employment for the first time are obliged or invited to undertake FE in their employer's time or at his expense. As we shall see, there are large overall differences in the provision for non-manual workers, apprentices and non-apprentices, for example, and the situation varies a great deal, not only as between different industries, but also as between firms within the same industry. There is thus still a great deal of scope for individual initiative on the part of school-leavers who wish to improve their education and/or qualifications by undertaking FE on their own account and in their own time. It must, however, be remembered that many individuals of the type who, in an earlier generation, might have shown sufficient ability and determination to "go it alone" in this way are nowadays pre-empted by institutionalized training schemes of the kind referred to above.

At Stage I of the present enquiry we were, of course, concerned only with the boys' expectations concerning FE, rather than with their actual experiences, which will be dealt with in more detail in a later report. As has already been shown, some 92% of those boys in the sample who had a definite job or type of work in mind were able to say whether or not they expected to take "any courses of training or Further Education at a college or night school after starting (the job in question)". The exact connection between job and course(s), if any, was deliberately left undefined at this point, but courses which were obviously of a purely recreational nature were excluded. Those boys who said that they did expect to undertake FE were then asked for details of the course(s) which they had in mind. Most mentioned one course only and it was subsequently decided to base the analysis upon details of the first (or only) course specified in each case.

Upon inspection, the boys' answers regarding the type and content of the courses which they expected to undertake proved to be very heterogeneous, vague and difficult to classify in any consistent and reliable way. In the tables which follow we have therefore used only a highly-simplified three-way breakdown into: cases where the boys did not expect to undertake any FE; cases where the boys expected to undertake FE leading to examinations based on a generally-recognized national academic standard (i.e. GCE "O" or "A" Level, ONC, HNC or RSA) and "Other FE". This last category is very much dominated by vocational courses at the apprenticeship or sub-apprenticeship levels, such as those run by the City and Guilds Institute.

Table 8.9 illustrates the extent to which the taking of FE, and the type of FE which the boys expected to undertake, was bound up with the type of job aimed at and whether or not it involved apprenticeship. The analysis necessarily excludes that 6% of the total sample who were unable to describe clearly a job at which they were aiming. No distinction is made between cases where the boy was already committed to a particular job (and thus, in many cases, to FE) and cases where no job had yet been fixed up. However, a more detailed analysis (not shown here) indicated that the pattern of results within each sub-sample resembled the overall pattern which emerges from the table.

From the Total column it can be seen that 7% of boys with a specific job or type of work in mind expected to undertake FE of the more "academic" type, 54% expected to courses of other types (mainly at the apprenticeship level or below) and only 39% thought they would not do any FE of any kind. The entries in the body of the table show that, while boys aiming at non-manual jobs were much the most likely to anticipate doing "academic" courses, significant proportions in all three job type/training status categories expected to undertake other (vocational) types of FE. However, the figure for this type of FE is highest, by a large margin, amongst those aiming at manual apprenticeships. On the other hand, only 24% of those aiming at manual apprenticeships, as against 29% of those aiming at non-manual employment and more than half (62%) of those aiming at non-apprenticed manual work, did not expect to undertake any FE.

Table 8.9 Expectation of undertaking Further Education, analysed by type/training status of job aimed at

EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING FURTHER EDUCATION	Non-Manual jobs	Apprentice-ships	Non-Apprentice-ships	Total
	%	%	%	%
Expected to do "academic" FE (i.e. leading to GCE/HNC/ONC/RSA)	24	5	3	7
Expected to do "other" (i.e. mainly lower-level vocational) FE	47	72	35	54
Did not expect to do any FE	29	24	62	39
TOTAL (all with a classifiable job fixed up or in mind)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	224	771	637	1632

The existence of associations between non-manual employment and "academic" courses and between manual apprenticeships and "vocational" FE is not very surprising. In fact, the most interesting feature of this analysis is the fact that as many as 61% of all the boys who had a classifiable job as their aim expected to undertake some form of FE. In some cases, of course, these expectations may have been unfounded and the actual outcome will not become clear until data from Stages II and III of the enquiry have been analysed. In the meantime, however, it may be of some interest to look briefly at two other aspects of the boys' expectations in this area as expressed at Stage I, namely, whether they expected to do FE voluntarily, or as a compulsory part of the job, and whether or not they liked the idea of undertaking FE.

Table 8.10 summarizes the information obtained from two Stage I questions. The first was addressed to boys who said they expected to undertake some form of FE after starting in the job which they had fixed up or were currently seeking. It ran: "Could you have got this particular job without agreeing to take (COURSE), or not?", or, in the case of boys who had not yet got a job fixed up, "Do you think you would have to take this course if you got the job, or not?". For the purposes of this analysis, boys who were not sure whether the course was compulsory or not have been assumed to be voluntary candidates for FE. The second question was addressed to all boys who had some specific job in mind, whether or not they actually expected to undertake FE. It ran: "Do (Would) you like the idea of doing any Further Education after you have left school, or not?".

The figures in the Total column show that, overall, some 44% of boys in the sample expected their prospective job to involve compulsory FE, while a further 22% proposed to undertake FE voluntarily. By adding together the top two entries in each column of the table it may be seen that the proportion of boys expecting to do FE was over 80% amongst both GCE and CSE candidates, but considerably lower (58%) amongst younger, unqualified leavers. The main reason for this difference is that non-examination candidates were much less likely to be aiming at jobs of which FE was a compulsory or automatic concomitant. The proportion of FE volunteers, on the other hand, was not very much lower amongst the younger leavers than amongst GCE candidates (21% as against 28%).

Table 8.10 Whether expecting to undertake compulsory or voluntary FE and whether liked the idea of doing FE, analysed by level of examinations sat and whether job fixed up or not.

	EXAMINATIONS SAT			
WHETHER TAKING COMPULSORY/ VOLUNTARY FE AND WHETHER LIKED IDEA OF FE	Wholly or mainly GCE°	Wholly or mainly CSE+	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
All expecting to undertake some form of FE as compulsory part of job	54	58	37	44
All expecting to undertake some form of FE voluntarily	28	23	21	22
All who "liked the idea" of doing some form of FE	74	74	45	56
No job fixed or in mind	1	2	3	3
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	153	432	1141	1726

° Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

Over half the total sample (56%) appeared to be broadly favourable towards the idea of taking FE, but the proportion is much lower amongst non-examination candidates than amongst boys who had sat GCE or CSE examinations

(45% as against 74%).

Taking the results in Tables 8.9 and 8.10 together, therefore, and interpreting them in the light of results presented earlier in this chapter, we may conclude that the boys' expectations and attitudes regarding FE were influenced both by the type and/or training status of the jobs at which they were aiming and by their prior level of academic achievement at secondary school. As Table 8.4 shows, access to non-manual jobs is itself heavily conditioned by prior educational achievement, so that to this extent FE tends to perpetuate patterns of educational success or failure already established at secondary school. However, the evidence so far considered suggests that access to apprenticeships, which are the most important single source of further educational opportunity for boys of the types covered by our sample, is less dependent upon achievement at secondary school. Hence substantial numbers of 15-year-old leavers, for example, are afforded a second chance of obtaining some useful form of "paper qualifications" through securing apprenticeships which involve automatic and compulsory FE. In addition, of course, there seems to have been a quite significant amount of willingness, even amongst the least academic boys, to undertake FE voluntarily.

There are, of course, two crucial questions which must remain unanswered at this stage of the enquiry, namely, what proportion of the aspirations and expectations concerning FE documented in this section were destined to be fulfilled when the sample boys actually started in employment, and what rates of success, failure and dropout were likely to affect the various types of courses and candidates which we have distinguished. In view of this uncertainty, the results here presented should certainly not be taken literally as foreshadowing actual rates of participation and achievement in FE; these will be discussed in the report on Stages II and III of the enquiry. In the meantime it is worth presenting an analysis which throws a little further light upon the boys' state of mind with respect to FE at the time of leaving school.

Table 8.11 Relations between intentions, expectations and attitudes regarding Further Education (boys with a job already fixed up only)

	INTENTIONS/EXPECTATIONS			
GENERAL ATTITUDE TO F.E.	Not intending to do any F.E.	Intending to do voluntary F.E.	Expecting to do compulsory F.E.	Total
	%	%	%	%
Likes idea of doing F.E.	32	70	77	57
Dislikes idea of doing F.E, or not sure	68	30	23	43
TOTAL (all boys with a job fixed up by Stage I)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	342	201	315	858

The analysis presented in Table 8.11 has been confined to cases where the boy had a job actually fixed up, on the grounds that intentions and expectations regarding F.E. are likely to have been firmer and more definite than in cases where no job had yet been obtained. It will be noticed that the level of apparent enthusiasm for FE was highest amongst those boys who expected to undertake "compulsory" FE, rather than amongst the "volunteers". This at first sight rather surprising finding seems to illustrate a point made earlier, namely, that under present day conditions the type of boy who is keen on the idea of FE is likely to aim at and obtain the kind of job which carries automatic FE commitments. Our references to "compulsory" FE should not, therefore, be taken to imply that the boys concerned were reluctant to continue their education in this way. Indeed, we would suspect that candidates who were both adequately motivated and had institutional support in undertaking FE had a better chance of succeeding than did "volunteers" of whom some 30% seem not to have been wholly enthused by the prospect of FE. On the other hand, it is worth remarking that, even amongst those boys who did not, in fact, expect to undertake FE, almost a third seemed to be quite favourably disposed towards the idea. What we cannot be sure of at this stage is to what extent boys who said the "liked the idea" of FE were merely expressing a pious and conformist sentiment or were really motivated to persevere and succeed.

8.7 What the boys liked about the jobs at which they were aiming

So far, our analysis of the boys' knowledge, hopes and expectations concerning their prospective jobs has been based entirely upon the answers given to rather simple, "closed" questions, i.e. questions which either invite a "Yes or no" answer or ask for some straightforward piece of quasi-factual information, such as the expected rate of pay. The decision to rely mainly upon this type of question, rather than trying to elicit the boys' thinking about jobs in their own words by using a more "open" form of questioning, was a deliberate one arising from the basic design of the study. It is worth explaining this point in a little more detail.

It became apparent at an early stage in the planning of the enquiry that, because of time and other constraints, it would not be possible to contact school-leavers at a stage before vocational decisions had been made. This was in many ways regrettable, since it effectively prevented us from studying the psychological processes underlying vocational choice. As has already been shown, by the time our first contact with the boys took place, 97% of them were able to cite some job or type of work at which they were aiming and 50% claimed to have a job actually fixed up. Survey experience shows that, in situations where informants are already committed to particular decisions, retrospective questioning about the psychological processes leading up to the decision (e.g. what made one course more attractive than another) seldom elicits very valid or useful answers. The main reasons for this are (a) that less articulate and reflective informants find it difficult to analyse and describe their own mental processes in the way required; (b) that memory is fallible, so that considerations which were important at the point of decision-making may subsequently be forgotten; and (c) that, where an individual is committed to a particular course of action, he tends, often without realizing it, to rationalize the thinking which led him to choose that course by adducing reasons which really only occurred to him after the event.

In the light of these considerations we decided that little useful purpose would be served by asking the boys how or why they had fixed upon the jobs or types of work at which they were aiming at the time of the Stage I interview. If "psychological" questions were to be asked, they could refer only to the boys' current state of mind, i.e. during the period after vocational goals had, in most cases, been determined, but before employment actually commenced. This topic was thought to be of only secondary importance, but several questions were nevertheless put with the aim of eliciting in more detail how the boys felt about their prospective jobs.

Our first important finding in this connection was that some boys with jobs fixed up had never actually chosen those jobs in the sense of preferring them to possible alternatives. In some cases the job was a "last resort", rather than a "first choice", while in others it had been fixed up by a third party, such as the boy's father, with the boy himself as no more than a passive spectator. Having been alerted at the pilot stage of the enquiry to the existence of such cases, we decided at the main Stage I to ask all boys who claimed to have a job fixed up whether this was the job they really wanted, or would they really have preferred some other job. Of those questioned, 16% (8% overall) admitted that they would really have preferred another job. It seemed best to exclude these boys when putting the following question, which concerned the attractions of the job aimed at, since the jobs to which they were committed did not seem to hold any great attractions for them.

The remainder of the boys with a job fixed up or a job in mind were asked what it was that they particularly liked about the idea of entering the job or type of work at which they were aiming. The answers given were recorded by the interviewer and afterwards coded into some 25 different categories, though the average number of separately codable answers given by each boy proved to be only 1.83. From this it may be deduced, first, that there was a wide range of "things liked about jobs", but, secondly, that few individuals gave any very detailed or explicit account of the job's attractions for them. The heterogeneity of the answers is, of course, a reflection of the wide variety of jobs to which they referred, as well as of differences between informants in terms of occupational interests and values. The sparseness of most individual replies was also to be expected. The fact that a boy had settled for a particular job or type of work as his immediate occupational goal by no means implies that he was particularly enthused at the prospect; in many cases, indeed, it may merely have been that he lacked the knowledge or initiative to envisage alternatives, or that he regarded it as the only realistic choice available to him. Even where this was not so, the task of analysing, as opposed to merely stating, their vocational preferences would undoubtedly have been a difficult one for some boys.

In examining the answers given to this question, therefore, we need to be very clear both about the limitations of the data and about the issues which we hope to clarify, if misinterpretations are to be avoided.

The first issue with which we shall deal is whether boys who were aiming at jobs in different occupational categories were attracted by different features of the jobs concerned. Is it true, for example, that prospective office workers give a different pattern of reasons for liking their future jobs from prospective woodworkers or electricians? At a certain level of detail, the answer must obviously be yes, since office workers are

Table 8.12 Things boy said he particularly liked about prospective job, analysed by occupational category

THINGS PARTICULARLY LIKED ABOUT JOB	JOB FIXED UP OR SOUGHT (SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES)							
	Clerical & office	Mechanical maintenance	Apprentice woodworkers	Electrical trades	Armed Forces	Farming, etc.	Building, civil engineering	Total (all jobs)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Specific work activities (e.g. mechanical)	10	38	44	20	7	21	13	20
Scope for autonomy, chance to use abilities, variety of work etc.	23	13	22	15	9	14	6	18
Physical working conditions	8	2	6	14	29	34	38	14
Social environment	8	2	1	2	17	9	6	7
Pay, material benefits	12	9	7	17	5	2	14	10
Training, chance to improve qualifications	4	10	5	13	16	1	3	9
Prospect of promotions or advancement	11	4	3	7	5	1	5	6
Security, hours of work, convenience etc.	16	9	4	10	3	8	10	9
Other answers	8	12	7	6	9	11	5	7
TOTAL (all answers)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. of boys (reweighted)	98	145	71	166	77	74	57	1544
Average no. of answers per boy	2.05	1.66	1.68	1.86	2.21	1.67	1.82	1.83

unlikely to mention the pleasures of using hand tools, while carpenters will have little to say about the satisfactions to be derived from paper-work. However, it may be possible to reclassify the reasons given into broader and more generally applicable categories and to make more meaningful and interesting comparisons on this basis. An analysis on these lines has been attempted in Table 8.12.

For the purposes of this table, the original 25 categories of "things liked" about prospective jobs have been condensed to nine and the resulting distributions are compared for seven occupational categories. The occupational categories were chosen as representing different types of job and as being internally homogeneous (by normal standards of occupational classification), while at the same time containing enough cases to permit reasonably reliable percentage distributions to be calculated. The bases used in percentaging are the total number of answers given, rather than the total number of boys answering. Percentages therefore add to 100% and variations in the average number of answers given per boy have no effect upon the main distributions. However, these variations are of some interest in their own right and the average number of answers given by boys aiming at jobs in each occupational category is shown at the bottom of the table.

It is evident at first glance that there were significant inter-occupational differences in the distribution of answers given. "Specific work activities", for example, were cited much more often by prospective mechanics and woodworkers than by prospective building or office workers. The answers classified in this category were often not very explicit or informative, in the sense that mechanics tended to say that they "were interested in mechanical things" and woodworkers that they "liked working with wood". Furthermore, it can be seen from the bottom row of the table that both mechanics and woodworkers gave a low average number of reasons (1.66 and 1.68 respectively), implying that in many cases answers of this rather circular kind were the main or only ones given.

There is less variation in the proportions of answers falling into the second category, which brings together references to the physical or psychological scope which the job offered for the exercise of abilities, for autonomy in controlling one's own work activities, for variety of work and so on. This category is not very sharply differentiated from the first and some of the boys who cited specific work activities (category 1) might well, had they been more articulate, have referred instead to the kinds of scope or satisfaction which those activities afforded them (category 2). However, it is noticeable that clerical and office workers, relatively few of whose answers fell into category 1, produced the highest proportion of answers in category 2.

The main types of answer subsumed under category 3 were those which referred to clean or otherwise pleasant working conditions, to working out of doors or in the open air and to facilities for travel. Farming and building workers tended to cite the second of these and boys intending to join the Forces the third, while the first was most often mentioned by office workers.

It is interesting to find that boys intending to join the Forces were the most likely to cite the social environment (category 4) as an attraction of the job. It is also noteworthy that these boys gave a higher average number of answers per boy than those aiming at other types of job. The low proportion of entrants to farming who mentioned good material prospects shows a degree of realism (the exceptions were probably farmers' sons). Electricians were the most optimistic in this respect and they and Forces entrants were rather more likely than average to mention training prospects (category 6). However, office workers were most likely to mention prospects of promotion or advancement, though inter-occupational variation was surprisingly slight in this respect. Office workers also stressed job-security and convenience more than did entrants to the other occupations considered.

Whereas the figures in the body of Table 8.12 relate to selected occupations only, the figures in the Total column include the answers given by all boys who answered the "things liked" question. It will be seen that categories 1 and 2 together, which may be considered broadly as covering job-content, accounted for 38% of the answers, the physical conditions and environment of the job accounted for 14% and the other categories for between 6% and 10% each. This probably gives a reasonably valid indication of the relative salience of different aspects of the prospective job in the minds of boys at the time of leaving school.

8.8 Summary

1. Boys who had a job fixed up or a specific job or type of work in mind at the time of the Stage I interview were asked how long ago they had first thought of this job. Only one quarter claimed to have thought of the job more than a year previously, while almost a third had only thought of it within the last three months. There was virtually no difference in this respect between those who had and those who had not yet got a job fixed up. This suggests that the progress made towards employment by Stage I was not a reflection of how long the boy had been "thinking about" possible jobs.

2. Two approaches were made to the problem of measuring the boys' level of knowledge about their prospective jobs. Those who had a job already fixed up were asked directly how clear an idea they had of the kind of work they would be given to do. Almost a quarter admitted that they did not have even a rough idea of what their work would be. All boys with a job in mind were then asked: (a) whether they would have any formal training status (e.g. apprenticeship) on starting work; (b) whether they knew or could estimate what their starting pay would be and (c) whether they expected to undertake any formal Further Education on starting in employment. To each of these questions a definite answer was obtained in about 90% of cases. An interesting feature of the results was that boys who were still seeking employment appeared almost as well-informed as those with a job already fixed up. In general, therefore, it seems that boys were considerably more knowledgeable about these particular aspects of their prospective jobs than about the actual activities which the job would envolve.

3. Since the great majority of the boys knew what the training status of their intended job was to be, it is possible to treat this as a dimension of job-classification. The simple threefold breakdown into Non-manual jobs, Manual Apprenticeships and Non-apprenticed Manual jobs, which is used in our analysis, is more familiar to most of those concerned with the employment of younger boy school-leavers than are the

various CODOT-based classifications developed and used in Chapters VI and VII. The Non-manual category is, in fact, identical with what we have called CODOT Status Group I, but, although there is a strong correlation between the two classifications, the Status Group and Training Status breakdowns of manual jobs are by no means identical. Selected analyses of the relationships between personal and environmental variables, type of job aimed at and amount of progress made towards obtaining such a job, parallel to those in Chapters VI and VII but using the Training Status rather than the CODOT classification, have therefore been presented in this chapter. It must, of course, be remembered that no external check could be made upon the accuracy and validity of answers concerning training status (or, indeed, of those concerning pay and Further Education) and that some of the boys would certainly have failed, for one reason or another, to actually enter the jobs to which their answers at Stage I referred.

4. It was found that academic level (measured by type of examinations sat or age of school-leaving) was only moderately related to whether boys were aiming at apprenticed or non-apprenticed manual work, but had a more marked effect on the amount of progress made towards obtaining particular types of job. Thus CSE candidates, for example, had been a good deal more successful in obtaining apprenticeships aimed at than had 15-year-old leavers. The boy's degree of "White Collar Orientation", on the other hand, had a strong effect on level of aspiration (e.g. whether the boy was aiming at apprenticed or non-apprenticed manual work) but very little influence on the amount of progress made.

5. The effects of the area employment environment were investigated by assigning the ten areas covered by the study to "easy", "intermediate" or "hard" employment categories, on the basis of overall rates of success in obtaining jobs by Stage I. It was found that these overall differences between areas were disproportionately due to differential rates of success in obtaining apprenticeships. In "hard" employment areas the situation was further exaggerated by the fact that a substantially higher than average proportion of boys were aiming at apprenticeships. Thus, in these areas, only 14% out of the 54% of boys who were seeking apprenticeships had been successful, whereas in "easy" areas 26% out of the 38% aiming at apprenticeships had obtained them. This contrasts with the position in respect of non-manual jobs, for which rates of progress varied little as between "hard" and "easy" areas.

6. Most of the boys were able to specify a rate of pay which they expected to receive if and when they started in the job at which they were aiming. Analysis showed that the most important determinant of expected (as, indeed, of actual) starting pay was the type of job aimed at. Much the highest rates, on average, were expected by those intending to enter non-manual employment and the lowest by those aiming at manual apprenticeships, in which rates are traditionally low during the early years of training. Average rates of pay expected by boys proposing to enter non-apprenticed manual work were intermediate between the two. An apparently simple relationship was demonstrated between age of school-leaving/level of examinations sat and expected rate of pay, with GCE candidates expecting the highest rates and non-examination candidates the lowest. However, the connection between the two variables is likely to have been indirect in nature, being due to differential tendencies

amongst boys of different academic levels to aspire to particular types of job, rather than to particular rates of pay, as such.

7. Because of the modern trend towards integrated industrial training courses, which include periods of formal instruction at college or the like as well as "on job" training, the topic of Further Education, like that of pay, is closely bound up with the training status of the job aimed at. Thus 77% of those boys who were aiming at manual apprenticeships expected to undertake one or more courses of formal FE, as compared with 71% of those aiming at non-manual jobs and only 38% of those seeking non-apprenticed manual work. Overall, the proportion of boys who were thinking in terms of FE was surprisingly high at 61%. When courses were classified as either "academic" (i.e. leading to GCE, ONC, HNC or RSA qualifications) or "other" (i.e. mainly vocational courses at apprenticeship level or below), it was found that courses of the first type were envisaged by only 7% of boys, who in most cases were aiming at non-manual jobs, whereas 54% of boys overall and 72% of prospective apprentices expected to take courses of the second type.

8. A second factor affecting the boys' expectations with respect to FE was their academic level on leaving secondary school. Over 80% both of GCE and of CSE candidates expected to undertake FE, compared with only 58% of non-examination candidates (early leavers). Analysis based on other details supplied by the boys showed that this difference was due mainly to the fact that examination candidates were much more likely to be aiming at jobs involving "compulsory" or automatic FE. However, the proportion of boys who said they "liked the idea" of doing FE was also much higher amongst this group than amongst the early leavers (74% as against 45%). On the other hand, as many as one in five even of the 15-year-old leavers said they intended to undertake FE voluntarily (i.e. even though it was not a compulsory part of the job aimed at). Cross-analysis of attitudes versus expectations and intentions showed that "volunteers" were rather less enthusiastic, on average, than those expecting to undertake FE compulsorily. This probably indicates that those who were particularly keen to improve their qualifications tended to aim at jobs of which FE was an integral and "compulsory" feature.

9. The design of the study was such that psychological processes leading to career decisions made before the Stage I interview took place could not be adequately studied. Whereas the boys' state of mind during the period between fixing upon an immediate occupational goal and actually starting in employment is of less interest and significance, a few questions were devoted to this topic. Those who already had a job fixed up were first asked whether this job was the one they really wanted. About one in six said that they would have preferred some other job, but it may be suspected that a larger proportion had arrived at their occupational "choice" by a process of elimination or compromise, or simply through lack of sufficient knowledge, enterprise or imagination to envisage or seek out alternatives. At all events, few boys gave very full or explicit answers when asked what it was that they particularly liked about the job or type of work at which they were aiming. On the other hand, a wide range of different answers was given to this question and there were, as expected, some marked differences in the perceived attractions of jobs in different occupational categories. It was also noticeable that boys aiming at certain types of job (e.g.

office and clerical work and the Armed Forces) gave significantly more reasons for liking their jobs than did, for example, prospective mechanics or woodworkers. This illustrates the point that answers given to the question reflected, not only differences in the perceived attractions of jobs, but also differences, as regards level of articulacy, level of interest and so on, between boys who were attracted (or merely gravitated) towards different fields of employment.

CHAPTER IX

CAREERS WORK IN THE SCHOOLS

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter we present material bearing upon the nature and extent of the careers work carried on in the 96 schools included in our sample. We have available for analysis data from three separate and independent sources. First, there is the information supplied by head teachers and careers teachers at the schools concerned; secondly, there are the replies given by the boys in the main sample to questions about their contacts with school careers staff etc.; thirdly, there is the rating of the adequacy of careers provision which was supplied for each school by the Careers Officer who was mainly responsible for youth employment work in that school.

It is possible to marshall and analyse these data so as to focus either upon the sample of boys, or upon the sample of schools. As in the rest of the report, the first of these approaches takes precedence and is followed through in Sections 9.2-9.5, which are basically concerned with the boys' degree of exposure to school-based careers work. However, the second approach is also of some interest in the circumstances and in Section 9.6 some of the same data are reanalysed so as to compare and contrast schools in terms of the careers help which they provided.

In considering the results presented in this chapter, it is necessary to bear in mind certain limitations upon the precision and reliability of the data upon which they are based. This applies particularly to information which was supplied by head teachers, careers teachers and Careers Officers, rather than by the boys. The reason for this lies not in the method by which the data were collected, but in the way in which they have been brought to bear upon the main boys' sample. Head teachers and careers teachers answered various questions concerning the organization of careers work at their schools and the way in which it applied to boys in particular academic year and classes. Careers Officers were asked to give separate ratings of the careers provision for boys in the fourth and fifth academic years at sampled schools. The information contained in the answers so obtained was later transferred to the records of sample boys who had belonged to the schools, academic years or classes to which the answers referred. All boys in a particular school, year or class thus received identical scores on the transferred item.

Now, mere duplication of a given piece of information obviously cannot enhance its reliability or the statistical significance of analyses based upon it. To the extent that our information is obtained from about 100 teachers, or an even smaller number of Careers Officers, the scope for generalizations based upon it is strictly limited. In addition, imprecision must inevitably arise from the fact that we are applying to individuals judgements which were actually made about groups (i.e. classes, school years etc.). What is true of a group, considered as a whole, need not be true of each individual member of that group.

A different type of limitation applies to the school-based analyses presented in Section 9.6. The present research was, of course, designed as a study of school-<ins>leavers</ins>, rather than of schools, even though some of the data refer in the first instance to school populations, rather than to individuals. The sample design is therefore very far from the statistical ideal as a means of studying schools as institutions and analysis along these lines is consequently subject to very severe restrictions. Nevertheless, we are able to bring together a set of carefully collected data which has reasonable claims to validity in its own terms and which is very relevant to important issues upon which the research as a whole is intended to bear. In these circumstances it has been judged worthwhile to present a summary of the main results of school-based analyses.

As already mentioned, Sections 9.2–9.5 are concerned with careers work in the schools as it affected the sample boys. This topic has been approached from three different angles. We deal first with the evidence from interviews with head teachers and careers teachers regarding the amount and nature of careers guidance, careers teaching and other careers activities which were provided by the schools for fourth and fifth year boy leavers. We then look at what the boys themselves had to say about their contacts with school careers staff and their opinions of the help provided, attempting, wherever possible, to relate this to what the teachers had said about the organization of careers work in the school. Finally, the ratings made by Careers Officers of the adequacy of careers provision in the sampled schools are considered, these also being related to what the boys themselves had said about their dealings with careers staff.

9.2 Careers guidance and careers teaching to which boys in the sample were exposed, according to head teachers and careers teachers.

This section gives an account of the amount and nature of the official or semi-official careers guidance and formal careers teaching to which boys in the sample were exposed, according to information provided by their head teachers and by the teacher at each school who had the main responsibility for careers work. For the purposes of the analyses presented, the sample of boys has been classified according to the type of secondary school attended and the level of examinations sat, these being the categories which are most readily identifiable by those with practical experience in this field.

Tables 9.1(a)-(b) give a rough indication of the basic staffing provision for careers work at the schools which the boys attended. The index used for this purpose is derived from two sources, namely, the head-teacher's account of the number of teachers at the school having a responsibility for careers work and, in cases where there was only one such teacher (apart from the head teacher), the teacher's own statement as to whether his teaching load in other subjects was or was not lighter than the average for the school. The latter was, strictly speaking, a statement of opinion rather than of fact and may have been subject to a certain amount of bias or imprecision. However, it is probably adequate as a rough indicator of the general situation.

It appears from the overall distribution that about four boys in ten attended schools where no staff time was formally set aside for careers work. At a number of schools the head teacher evidently took all careers work upon himself; as might be expected, these schools were almost all smaller than the average and accounted for only 6% of the total sample of boys. At the

Table 9.1 Staffing provision for careers work at boy's school analysed by (a) type of school and (b) level of examinations sat

(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

STAFFING PROVISION FOR CAREERS WORK AT BOY'S SCHOOL	Grammar/ Technical	Com- prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Head teacher is sole careers teacher	5	0	8	6
1 careers teacher, whose teaching load in other subjects was at least as heavy as average for the school	42	4	41	33
1 careers teacher, whose teaching load in other subjects was lighter than average for the school	35	10	31	27
Two or more (part-time) careers teachers	18	87	20	35
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Number of schools sampled	27	15	54	96

(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT

STAFFING PROVISION FOR CAREERS WORK AT BOY'S SCHOOL	Wholly or mainly* GCE	Wholly or mainly+ CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Head teacher is sole careers teacher	5	2	7	6
1 careers teacher, whose teaching load in other subjects was at least as heavy as average for the school	32	30	34	33
1 careers teacher, whose teaching load in other subjects was lighter than average for the school	38	27	25	27
Two or more (part-time) careers teachers	25	41	33	35
TOTAL (all boys	100	100	100	100

* Sat subject(s) at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

other extreme, Table 9.1(a) shows that at comprehensive schools, which are normally large, careers work was in most cases shared by two or more teachers. It is difficult to make meaningful comparisons between the situation in large schools, where three or four staff members might share careers responsibilities between them, and that in smaller schools where a single teacher dealt with a much smaller number of leavers. About 60% of the boys in the sample were exposed to this latter type of situation, but here we can sub-divide further into cases where some of the careers teacher's time seems to have been officially set aside for careers work (27% overall) and cases where he was expected to "make" time for careers activities (33%).

It is interesting that, looked at in this crude and simplified way, the staffing provision for careers work as it affected the grammar/technical school pupils in our sample closely resembled the provision for secondary modern school pupils. However, the closeness of this correspondence may well have been somewhat coincidental (bearing in mind the statistical limitations mentioned in the Introduction to this chapter) and it certainly masks very significant differences between the two types of school as regards the nature of careers provision (cf Tables 9.2(a) and 9.4(a) below). The analysis by academic level shown in Table 9.1(b) shows few dramatic differences in the career provision to which boys at different levels were exposed. The main observable effects are that GCE candidates experienced more often than average a situation where a single teacher had some time set aside for careers purposes, whereas CSE candidates more often attended (large) schools with two or more careers teachers.

It is evident from Tables 9.1 that at many of the schools in the sample there was little or no formal provision of staff time for careers activities, except in so far as these were included in the normal teaching timetable. It follows that individual careers guidance, for example, must in many cases have been given in an informal and opportunistic manner, if at all. This does not necessarily imply that the guidance received by leavers from schools of this type was inadequate or ineffective. In interviewing the careers teachers in our sample and in reading over their descriptions of their work, one often gained the impression that a great deal of devoted effort was being put in, largely in their own time, by particular individuals. However, it is very difficult to do justice, using objective and standardized survey methods, to a situation where so much depended upon the individual teacher and where schools might in practice differ greatly as regards the quantitative and - especially - the qualitative aspects of their careers provision, even though in terms of their "official" provision they appeared similar. The following attempts at a more detailed analysis of careers provision and careers activities should be read with this consideration very much in mind.

So much for the staffing situation in the schools. The careers work carried on took a number of different forms, so we shall now proceed to consider each of the main types of careers function or careers activity in turn. Let us look first at individual contacts between careers teacher and pupil, at which the latter's employment plans and preferences were discussed and vocational information and guidance in one form or another were given.

The careers teachers interviewed at each of the 96 schools in our sample were asked (as appropriate) what proportion of prospective leavers in (i) the fourth school year and (ii) the fifth school year they generally managed to talk to either individually or in a small group of two or three

Table 9.2 Proportion of leavers from boy's school year whom careers teacher(s) claimed to see individually analysed by (a) type of school boy attended and (b) level of examinations boy sat

(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

PROPORTION OF LEAVERS IN BOY'S SCHOOL YEAR WHOM CAREERS TEACHER(S) CLAIMED TO SEE INDIVIDUALLY	Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
No leavers in boy's year seen	2	12	2	5
Some leavers in boy's year seen	18	46	37	37
All leavers in boy's year seen	71	42	55	54
Head teacher was sole careers teacher and question was not asked	9	0	6	5
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Number of schools sampled	27	15	54	96

(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT

PROPORTION OF LEAVERS IN BOY'S SCHOOL YEAR WHOM CAREERS TEACHER(S) CLAIMED TO SEE INDIVIDUALLY	Wholly or mainly* GCE	Wholly or mainly+ CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
No leavers in boy's year seen	2	1	6	5
Some leavers in boy's year seen	22	37	39	37
All leavers in boy's year seen	69	59	49	54
Head teacher was sole careers teacher and question was not asked	5	2	6	5
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100

* Sat subject(s) at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

pupils. In cases where the school had more than one careers teacher dealing with fourth and fifth year leavers, all the teachers concerned were interviewed and an estimate was subsequently made, on the basis of the answers which they gave (and the explanatory comments which they made), of what proportion of the leavers was seen by one or other of them. As already noted, there were a number of schools where the head teacher was the only person eligible to answer the questions on the Careers Teacher schedule, having already answered those on the Head Teacher schedule. In such cases the questions about proportion of pupils seen were put only if the head was willing and available to continue the interview. By these means, as can be seen from the Total column of Tables 9.2, an estimate was obtained for 95% of the sample boys, of the proportion of leavers in the boy's school year who normally had an interview of the type described with a careers teacher.

From Tables 9.2 it can be seen that, overall, just over half the boys in our sample attended schools where the careers teacher(s) claimed to see all leavers in the sample boy's year either individually or in a small group of two or three. At the opposite extreme, a small minority of 5% of boys attended schools where the careers teacher(s) did not claim to see any leavers in the boy's school year. Rather more than a third of the sample boys attended schools where the careers teacher(s) claimed to see "some" leavers. Some head teachers who acted as careers teachers in small schools seem, from incidental remarks made in the course of interviews, to have made a practice of speaking individually to at least the majority of leavers. Perhaps the most interesting conclusion which emerges from the figures in the body of the tables is that grammar/technical pupils and those sitting mainly GCE examinations were most likely to have experienced a school situation where all leavers were seen individually by a careers teacher. This may reflect a difference between school types, or between academic streams within schools, in the type of careers work considered most appropriate, rather than in the amount of careers work done. Evidence in favour of this view appears when Table 9.2(a) is compared with Table 9.4(a) below.

A slightly different slant on the provision for individual interviewing of prospective school-leavers is provided by Tables 9.3. Teachers who said that they saw at least some prospective leavers individually were asked whether this came about because the boys asked to see them, because they asked or arranged to see the boys, or sometimes for one reason and sometimes for the other. It can be seen that about a fifth of the boys in the sample could only expect to obtain a personal interview with a careers teacher by taking the initiative themselves. About a tenth, on the other hand, might expect to be sought out by their careers teacher as a matter of routine. However, for the majority of the sample the system appears to have been a flexible and informal one, with the careers teacher(s) both making themselves accessible to boys who took the initiative and seeking out those whom they had not already seen and who seemed to need advice or assistance. The tendency for personal interviewing of this kind to be conducted more systematically in the case of leavers from grammar/technical schools than in the case of leavers from other school-types is again apparent, though for statistical reasons not too much weight should be placed upon this finding.

We shall return to the topic of personal interviews, this time considered from the boys' point of view, in Section 9.4 below. In the meantime, let us consider the second main type of careers work, namely, that which is

Table 9.3 How careers teacher(s) came to interview individual leavers analysed by (a) type of school boy attended and (b) level of examinations sat

(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

HOW CAREERS TEACHER(S) CAME TO INTERVIEW INDIVIDUAL LEAVERS	Grammar/ Technical	Comprehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Head teacher was sole careers teacher and question was not asked	9	0	6	5
No leavers in boy's year seen individually	2	12	2	5
Leavers in boy's year seen on boy's initiative only	15	12	24	21
Leavers in boy's year seen, sometimes on boy's, sometimes on careers teacher's initiative	54	69	59	60
CT said he took the initiative in seeing boys individually	21	8	11	11
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Number of schools sampled	27	15	54	96

(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT

HOW CAREERS TEACHER(S) CAME TO INTERVIEW INDIVIDUAL LEAVERS	Wholly or mainly* GCE	Wholly or mainly+ CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Head teacher was sole careers teacher and question was not asked	5	2	6	5
No leavers in boy's year seen individually	2	1	6	5
Leavers in boy's year seen on boy's initiative only	19	26	19	21
Leavers in boy's year seen, sometimes on boy's, sometimes on careers teacher's initiative	60	56	62	60
CT said he took the initiative in seeing boys individually	14	15	9	11
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100

* Sat subject(s) at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

Table 9.4 Whether or not school class of which sample boy was a member had formal careers lessons, and topics covered in these lessons, analysed by (a) type of school attended and (b) level of examinations sat

WHETHER OR NOT SCHOOL CLASS OF WHICH BOY WAS A MEMBER HAD CAREERS LESSONS AND NATURE OF TOPICS COVERED	(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED			
	Grammar/ Technical	Com- prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Class had no formal careers lessons	90	49	58	60
Topics covered in careers lessons				
How to set about choosing a job (e.g. discussion of different types of job, of occupational interests etc.; self- and job-assessment; films, talks; etc.)	(10)	49	35	36
How to set about getting a job (e.g. how to write a job-application, how to behave at interviews etc.)	(0)	31	16	18
Information on what it's like at work (e.g. working conditions, wages, role of trade unions, safety at work, settling down at work etc.)	(0)	24	19	18
Information about on-job training, apprenticeships etc.	(0)	15	9	10
Information about Further Education, qualifications etc.	(0)	18	8	9
Information and discussion about practical/moral aspects of adult life in general (e.g. personal relations, standards of behaviour, use of leisure, civics etc.)	(0)	26	22	21
Other topics	(0)	0	3	2
No data on careers lessons	(0)	3	4	3
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Base - number of schools sampled	27	15	54	96

Table 9.4 (continued)

WHETHER OR NOT SCHOOL CLASS OF WHICH BOY WAS A MEMBER HAD CAREERS LESSONS AND NATURE OF TOPICS COVERED	(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT			
	Wholly or mainly* GCE	Wholly or mainly+ CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Class had no formal careers lessons	88	80	48	60
Topics covered in careers lessons				
How to set about choosing a job (e.g. discussion of different types of job, of occupational interests etc.; self- and job-assessment; films, talks; etc.)	(12)	(19)	45	36
How to set about getting a job (e.g. how to write a job-application, how to behave at interviews etc.)	(3)	(13)	21	18
Information on what it's like at work (e.g. working conditions, wages, role of trade unions, safety at work, settling down at work etc.)	(5)	(2)	27	18
Information about on-job training, apprenticeships etc.	(1)	(10)	11	10
Information about Further Education, qualifications etc.	(2)	(15)	8	9
Information and discussion about practical/moral aspects of adult life in general (e.g. personal relations, standards of behaviour, use of leisure, civics etc.)	(6)	(12)	26	21
Other topics	(3)	(1)	3	2
No data on careers lessons	(0)	(0)	5	3
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100

* Sat subject(s) at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

conducted through the medium of formal "careers lessons" forming an official part of the school curriculum.

Tables 9.4 show the degree to which boys at different types of secondary school and of different academic levels were exposed to formal careers teaching, both overall and in terms of the coverage of particular topics. The most outstanding feature of the tables is, of course, the finding that only 10% of grammar/technical pupils and 12% of GCE candidates in our sample had (according to their careers teachers) received formal careers lessons, as against 51% of pupils at comprehensive schools and 52% of those who were sitting neither GCE nor CSE examinations (i.e. for the most part, fourth year leavers). Since so few grammar and technical schools included careers lessons in their curriculum and so few GCE (or, indeed, CSE) candidates received them, the present analysis is not reliable as a guide to the topics covered in such cases and the bracketed figures are included for completeness only. We are on slightly firmer ground in considering the topics covered in careers lessons given to leavers from comprehensive and secondary modern schools and to non-examination candidates. The topics mentioned and their relative frequency of occurrence require little additional comment.

9.3 Extra-curricular careers activities in which sample boys and their parents took part, according to careers teachers

We have dealt so far only with personal interviews and with careers lessons which formed a regular part of the school timetable, but these, of course, are by no means the only types of careers education to which boys may be exposed at secondary school. The data upon which Tables 9.5 are based were obtained by asking careers teachers to say which classes at the school attended or participated in each of a list of careers activities. The first six activities mentioned below were prompted in this way, but some teachers also cited visits to places of Further Education or other kinds of activity not explicitly prompted. The information thus obtained was later attached to the individual records of boys who had been members of the school classes mentioned by the teachers.

An advantage of the prompted method of questioning used in this case is that it avoids the risk of bias which might arise if different teachers defined the term "careers activities or functions" in different ways. On the other hand, we have no indication of the frequency with which given classes participated in activities. This means, of course, that boys who had experienced only one works visit in the course of the school year are coded as "participators" in that activity - a fact which no doubt accounts to some extent for the generally quite high levels of participation shown in the tables. It will be noticed that 96% of the sample of boys had, according to their careers teachers, been members of classes exposed to at least one form of careers activity, whilst the overall average number of activities to which boys had been exposed was over four. Talks and interviews conducted by members of the Youth Employment Service were the most frequently mentioned type of activity for almost all school types and academic levels, but the other prompted activities were all endorsed in 60-75% of cases overall. There appear to be some differences of emphasis as between school types: for example, film shows, speakers from business and industry and work visits were more frequently mentioned in relation to

Table 9.5 Extra-curricular careers activities organised for sample boy's class, analysed by (a) type of secondary school attended and (b) level of examinations boy sat

CAREERS ACTIVITIES ORGANIZED FOR BOY'S CLASS	(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED			
	Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
No careers activities	1	4	4	4
Nature of careers activities				
Careers conventions or exhibitions	63	69	64	65
Film shows	33	65	68	64
Outside speakers from business or industry (other than careers conventions)	58	67	70	68
Outside speakers from the Armed Forces or Police	76	78	73	75
Visits to places of work	51	72	74	71
Talks or interviews by Youth Employment Staff	87	88	85	86
Visits to places of Further Education or from staff of these	0	9	7	7
Other activities	0	5	2	3
No data on careers activities	1	6	0	1
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Base - number of schools sampled	27	15	54	96

pupils at secondary modern schools and non-examination candidates than in the case of other types of boy.

A final index of the nature and extent of careers activity in the schools attended by the sample boys was derived from the answers given by careers teachers to the question; "Are parents ever invited to the school, either individually or in groups, in order to discuss their son's future career with you or with other members of staff? (IF SO) In what circumstances, or on what occasions, are they invited?" Preliminary research had indicated

Table 9.5 (continued)

CAREERS ACTIVITIES ORGANIZED FOR BOY'S CLASS	(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT			
	Wholly or mainly GCE*	Wholly or mainly CSE+	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
No careers activities	2	5	3	4
Nature of careers activities				
Careers conventions or exhibitions	68	69	63	65
Film shows	48	53	70	64
Outside speakers from business or industry (other than careers conventions)	67	57	73	68
Outside speakers from the Armed Forces or Police	71	59	81	75
Visits to places of work	55	56	79	71
Talks or interviews by Youth Employment Staff	89	68	93	86
Visits to places of Further Education or from staff of these	4	5	8	7
Other activities	1	0	4	3
No data on careers activities	0	2	1	1
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100

* Sat subject(s) at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

that contacts of this nature with parents often took place when the parents happened to be at the school for some other reason, but it was decided not to prompt along these lines in case this had the effect of suggesting to the teachers that careers contacts ought to take place on school Speech Days etc. and thus biasing their responses. The results presented in Tables 9.6 thus represent careers teachers' spontaneous answers to the questions quoted above, the information having been transferred to the boy's records by class in the way already described.

Table 9.6 Occasions on which parents of pupils were invited to the school to discuss careers matters analysed by (a) type of school attended and (b) level of examinations sat

OCCASIONS ON WHICH PARENTS ARE INVITED TO THE SCHOOL	(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED			
	Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Parents not invited	23	3	30	24
Group invitations				
School Speech Day	16	3	17	14
Careers Convention	16	12	20	18
Parents' Meeting - to explain choice of school courses	22	49	15	23
Other group meeting - to discuss jobs, whether to stay on, etc.; open evenings; school leaving conference; etc.	36	61	23	33
Individual invitations				
Careers Officer interview	29	45	40	40
Other individual invitation (e.g. to discuss boy's career, his leaving or staying on, etc.)	22	62	32	37
No data on parents' invitations	1	6	0	1
Question not asked (Head Teacher)	5	0	7	5
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Base - number of schools sampled	27	15	54	96

Table 9.6 (continued)

OCCASIONS ON WHICH PARENTS ARE INVITED TO THE SCHOOL	(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT			
	Wholly or mainly* GCE	Wholly or mainly+ CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Parents not invited	24	22	24	24
Group invitations				
School Speech Day	14	14	13	14
Careers Convention	17	18	18	18
Parents' Meeting – to explain choice of school courses	30	20	23	23
Other group meeting – to discuss jobs, whether to stay on, etc.; open evenings; school leaving conference; etc.	38	34	32	33
Individual invitations				
Careers Officer Interview	30	41	41	40
Other individual invitation (e.g. to discuss boy's career his leaving or staying on, etc.)	26	43	37	37
No data on parents' invitations	0	3	1	1
Question not asked (Head Teacher)	3	3	6	5
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100

* Sat subject(s) at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

The first point to be noted in Tables 9.6 is that, according to the careers teachers, the parents of about a quarter of the boys in the sample were never officially invited to the school to discuss their son's career prospects. It would be wrong to attach too much significance to this figure; some teachers may well have taken the words "invited to the school" in a more literal and formal sense than others and the fact that formal invitations were not extended does not necessarily mean that no contacts of any kind took place. However, it seems reasonable to assume that, for a significant proportion of the boys in the sample, there was no positive move on the part of the school aimed at drawing parents directly into discussions etc. relating to their son's career choice. It should also be remembered that by no means all parents respond to such invitations, as is shown by the fact that amongst parents of boys in our sample who were interviewed as part of the present study, only 8% said they had discussed their son's future career with the head teacher, 3% with a careers teacher and 4% with some other teacher. (Note, however, that only one parent - normally the father - of each boy was interviewed and that mothers are, on the whole, more likely to participate in activities of this kind).

Two main types of invitation to parents have been distinguished in Tables 9.6 namely, group invitations and individual invitations. The first of these types has been further sub-divided into: invitations to Speech Days or Prize Givings (where discussion of careers would presumably play only an incidental part in the proceedings); invitations to careers conventions or exhibitions; invitations to meetings - usually held at the beginning of the pupil's third or fourth school year - at which choice of academic courses is discussed; and invitations to meetings - usually held towards the end of the fourth and/or the fifth school year - at which careers and the question of whether or not to stay on in school are discussed. Amongst individual invitations to parents we have distinguished invitations to attend the son's interview with a Careers Officer from other invitations, which usually, no doubt, involved private discussion of the son's career prospects with a teacher or teachers.

It will be noted that, according to the careers teachers, the parents of some 40% of the boys in the sample were invited to their son's Youth Employment interview, while 37% received other individual invitations. About a third and about a quarter respectively were invited in groups to meetings on choice of courses and on school-leaving and careers choice. It is noticeable that in all of these categories the proportions were highest for parents of pupils at comprehensive schools. In interpreting this tendency it should be remembered that our sample of comprehensives comprised only 15 schools in all and that these were very largely concentrated within two of the ten areas. It is therefore possible that the results are not entirely typical of comprehensive schools in general. Apart from this, there are no very striking or unexpected features in the distribution of invitations amongst parents of boys at different types of school or of different academic levels.

Invitations to and attendance at careers discussions or functions comprise only one aspect of the general topic of contacts between the home and the school. A much more comprehensive and penetrating analysis and discussion of this subject, which includes contacts relating to careers guidance etc. and deals with leavers of the types included in our sample as well as others, will be found in Schools Council Enquiry 1: Young School Leavers, Chapters 6 and 7.

9.4 Individual careers guidance: boys' and careers teachers' accounts compared

Table 9.7 Whether boy thought there was a careers teacher for his class analysed by (a) type of school attended and (b) level of examinations sat

(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

WHETHER BOY THOUGHT THERE WAS A TEACHER RESPONSIBLE FOR ADVISING	Grammar/ Technical	Com- prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Boy thought there was a careers teacher for his class	90	73	84	82
Boy thought there was no careers teacher for his class	10	23	16	17
Boy did not know whether there was a careers teacher for his class	1	4	*	1
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Base 1. Number of boys (reweighted)	188	384	1154	1727
Base 2. Number of schools sampled	27	15	54	96

(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT

WHETHER BOY THOUGHT THERE WAS A TEACHER RESPONSIBLE FOR ADVISING LEAVERS IN HIS CLASS ON CAREERS	Wholly or mainly° GCE	Wholly or mainly+ CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Boy thought there was a careers teacher for his class	92	86	79	82
Boy thought there was no careers teacher for his class	8	13	19	17
Boy did not know whether there was a careers teacher for his class	*	1	1	1
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Bases (Number of boys - reweighted)	153	432	1141	1727

° Sat subject(s) at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

The account given in the preceding sections of the extent and nature of sample boys' exposure to school-based careers guidance, careers teaching and other careers activities was based upon information supplied by head teachers and careers teachers. The same topics were also raised in the course of Stage I interviews with the boys themselves and we are thus able to compare, up to a point, the boys' and the teachers' accounts of the "careers exposure" achieved. In the present section we shall consider the account given by the boys and make a number of comparisons of the type just described.

One of the most basic and elementary indices of the degree to which school careers activity actually impinged upon boys in the sample is the answer which they gave to the question; "Is there a particular teacher in your school who is supposed to advise boys in your class about what they are going to do after they leave?" In Table 9.7 the answers given to this question are analysed by the type of secondary school the boys attended and the level of examinations which he sat. It will be remembered that all the 96 schools sampled claimed to have some member or members of staff who fulfilled the role defined in the question; in spite of this, only just over four boys in five were actually aware that a teacher was available to advise leavers in their class. The proportion was lowest in comprehensive schools (73%) and amongst boys who were not sitting GCE or CSE examinations - that is, amongst fourth year leavers. On the other hand, 90% of grammar school pupils and 92% of GCE candidates were aware that a careers adviser was available.

The results of this comparison between the teachers' and the boys' accounts of the situation should be interpreted with a certain amount of caution. Although the wording of the question on the boys' interview schedule (quoted above) may appear reasonably explicit, it is possible that some of the less intelligent boys failed to realize, for example, that their head teacher might also count as a careers teacher within the terms of the question. Similarly, in the schools (mainly comprehensives) where careers advice was given within the context of a broader "pastoral care" system, some boys may not have realized that the person whom they knew as, say, a "housemaster" could also be looked upon as a careers adviser. The results presented in Table 9.8 below suggest that misconceptions of this sort may sometimes have occurred.

Table 9.8 shows the relationship between the answers given by individual boys to the question quoted above and the staffing arrangements for careers work at the school, as reported by the head teacher. It can be seen that the level of awareness that careers help was available was at its lowest amongst boys from schools where the head teacher was the sole careers adviser and at its highest amongst boys from schools with one, rather than two or more, careers teachers. Closer examination of the data upon which this table was based showed that it was at the large schools with several careers teachers that the level of awareness was lower than might have been expected.

Because of the possible semantic confusions mentioned above, only very tentative conclusions can be drawn from the results of this first comparison between the boys' and the teachers' account of the careers provision within the schools. If we are willing to accept that boys who thought there was no teacher responsible for advising them about what they were going to do after leaving school were boys with whom the school careers service had failed to make adequate contact, then it seems that about a fifth of the

Table 9.8 Whether boy thought there was a careers teacher for his class analysed by staffing provision for careers work at the school

WHETHER BOY THOUGHT THERE WAS A TEACHER RESPONSIBLE FOR ADVISING LEAVERS IN HIS CLASS ON CAREERS	STAFFING PROVISION FOR CAREERS WORK			
	Head teacher sole careers teacher	1 careers teacher	2 or more careers teachers	Total
	%	%	%	%
Boy thought there was a careers teacher for his class	43	88	78	82
Boy thought there was no careers teacher for his class	57	11	19	17
Boy did not know whether there was a careers teacher for his class	0	1	3	1
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Base 1. Number of boys - reweighted	101	1030	596	1727
Base 2. Number of schools sampled	8	64	24	96

boys in our sample, the vast majority of them fourth year leavers, fell into this category.

We have seen that the majority, though by no means all, of the boys in the sample were at least aware that there was a teacher responsible for giving them careers help and guidance. Following the pattern set in the previous chapter, we may now take the enquiry one stage further and enquire how many of the boys had actually had a personal talk with a careers teacher by the time our Stage I interviews took place. In Table 9.9 the answers given by the boys to the question of whether and, if so, on whose initiative, they had had a personal talk with a careers teacher are analysed by the careers teacher's report of whether and, if so, on whose initiative he normally saw leavers from the boy's class individually.

It must be said at the outset that the results of this cross-analysis are to some extent rendered inconclusive by the fact that our Stage I interviewing commenced about one month before the end of the school term. This means that, in many cases, personal contacts between boys and careers teachers will have taken place after our interviews had been carried out. Hence the boys' reports of contact with careers teachers must underestimate to some significant extent the amount of contact which in fact took place by the time the boys actually left school. In interpreting the results it is necessary to make some reasonable allowance for this fact.

It is at once apparent from the Total row of Table 9.9 that, at the time of the Stage I interview, three-quarters of the boys in our sample claimed never to have had a personal talk with a careers teacher. The proportion who said this varied, however, from 95% in schools where the head teacher

Table 9.9 Relationship between careers teacher's report of whether and on whose initiative he saw leavers in boy's school year individually and boy's report of whether and on whose initiative he talked to careers teacher

	BOY'S REPORT OF WHETHER AND ON WHOSE INITIATIVE HE TALKED TO CAREERS TEACHER					
CAREERS TEACHER'S REPORT OF WHETHER AND ON WHOSE INITIATIVE HE SAW BOYS	Never talked to CT	Talked to CT on own initiative	Talked to CT on teacher's initiative	Vague answers	Total (all boys)	Base (boys-reweighted)
Head was sole CT and question was not asked %	95	1	3	0	100	70
CT said he saw no leavers individually %	87	10	3	0	100	90
CT said he saw boys on their initiative only %	80	6	13	1	100	329
CT said he saw boys on either his or the boy's initiative %	74	9	16	1	100	1044
CT said he took the initiative in seeing boys individually %	48	15	35	2	100	194
TOTAL %	74	9	16	1	100	1727

was the sole careers teacher and was not asked the question down to 48% in schools where the careers teacher said he took the initiative in seeing boys individually. It was only at these latter schools - a small minority of the total - that the majority of boys included in our sample (52%) said they had had a personal talk with a careers teacher by the time of the Stage I interview. In the majority of cases where a talk had taken place, it had been on the teacher's, rather than on the boy's initiative.

The real significance of these findings perhaps emerges when we contrast the situation here revealed with the type of school-based careers-guidance programme recommended by many workers well-qualified to judge the needs of school-leavers of the types included in our sample. Such programmes often lay great stress on the necessity for the vocational guidance process to commence long - some would say several years - before the actual moment of school-leaving arrives. The individual interview is not, of course, the only medium through which vocational guidance may be given, but most workers would probably agree that it is of central importance and few could view with any satisfaction a situation where three-quarters of a sample of

Table 9.10 Boy's report of whether and on whose initiative he had spoken to a careers teacher, analysed by (a) type of school boy attended and (b) level of examinations boy sat

(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

BOY'S REPORT OF WHETHER AND ON WHOSE INITIATIVE HE TALKED TO CAREERS TEACHER	Grammar/ Technical	Com- prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Never talked to CT	58	79	74	74
Talked to CT on own initiative	16	7	8	9
Talked to CT on teacher's initiative	25	12	17	17
Vague answers	1	1	1	1
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Base 1. Number of boys - reweighted	188	384	1154	1727
Base 2. Number of schools sampled	27	15	54	96

(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT

BOY'S REPORT OF WHETHER AND ON WHOSE INITIATIVE HE TALKED TO CAREERS TEACHER	Wholly or mainly* GCE	Wholly or mainly+ CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Never talked to CT	56	64	80	74
Talked to CT on own initiative	20	13	6	9
Talked to CT on teacher's initiative	23	23	13	17
Vague answers	1	1	1	1
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Base (number of boys-reweighted)	153	432	1141	1727

* Sat subject(s) at GCE "O" Level only, or sat at least 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

school-leavers are found, within a few weeks of the end of their final term, to have had no individual guidance from or contact with a careers teacher. As regards remedying this deficiency, the results strongly suggest (though for reasons explained above they cannot prove) that it is necessary for the careers teacher actively to seek out and arrange individual interviews with prospective leavers, rather than waiting for the leavers to come to him. It is difficult to see how this could be achieved in many of the schools covered in the present survey without a considerable increase in the amount of staff time and resources assigned to careers work.

It is clear from the evidence of Table 9.9 that the boys' own reports give a considerably less optimistic picture of the situation as regards individual guidance interviews than might otherwise have been assumed on the basis of the reports given by careers teachers. It therefore seemed worthwhile to reconsider the overall situation with respect to school type and academic level, this time using the boy's report as our criterion of the amount of individual contact which had actually taken place. The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 9.10.

Two new findings of interest emerge from Tables 9.10. The first is that grammar/technical school pupils were the most likely and comprehensive school pupils the least likely to have had an individual talk with a careers teacher by the time of the Stage I interview. This is in line with the results shown in Tables 9.2(a) and 9.3(a), but, as previously noted, it is possible that it does less than justice to comprehensive schools where the process of careers guidance was not sharply differentiated from general counselling and pastoral care activities and hence may not have been identified as such by the boys concerned. The second finding is that a greater proportion of boys at higher than at lower academic levels claimed to have had an individual interview with a careers teacher. This trend, once again, is in general agreement with that shown by Table 9.2(b), though the absolute size of the proportions is much lower. It can also be seen that both the proportion of boys claiming to have seen the careers teacher on their own initiative and the proportion who had been approached by the teacher was highest in the academically more able groups.

One further index of the effects of the schools' efforts to provide individual vocational guidance upon boys in our sample may be derived from the data gathered in the course of the boys' Stage I interview. Those boys who said that they had had an individual talk with a careers teacher (about a quarter of the total) were asked whether or not they felt this talk had helped them. Tables 9.11 show the answers given to this question, analysed by type of school attended and level of examinations sat.

It can be seen from the Total column of the tables that, overall, about two thirds of the boys who had had a talk with a careers teacher said they had found it helpful and one third that they had not done so. It is interesting that, whereas the proportion of boys who had had individual interviews was highest in grammar/technical schools and amongst GCE candidates, the proportion of boys who, having had such an interview, had found it helpful, was lowest amongst these groups and highest amongst secondary modern pupils and non-examination candidates. Inspection of the answers given to a supplementary question about the ways in which the talk with the careers teacher had been helpful (if at all) indicated that the functions or aspects most frequently cited were: general advice and help in making up one's own mind or in developing self-confidence; discussion of vocational plans and possibilities or of what particular jobs involved; practical help with job-applications; and advice about Further Education or qualifications.

It would be wrong to attach too much significance to the boys' subjective,

Table 9.11 Boy's reaction to personal talk with careers teacher, analysed by (a) type of school attended and (b) level of examinations sat

BOY'S REACTION TO PERSONAL TALK WITH CAREERS TEACHER	(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED			
	Grammar/ Technical	Com- prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Found the talk helpful	60	67	71	69
Did not find the talk helpful	40	33	29	31
TOTAL (all boys who said they had had a talk with careers teacher)	100	100	100	100
Base (boys - reweighted)	79	79	297	456

BOY'S REACTION TO PERSONAL TALK WITH CAREERS TEACHER	(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT			
	Wholly or mainly* GCE	Wholly or mainly+ CSE	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Found the talk helpful	58	67	73	69
Did not find the talk helpful	42	33	27	31
TOTAL (all who said they had had a talk with the careers teacher)	100	100	100	100
Base (boys - reweighted)	68	157	231	456

* Sat subject(s) at GCE "O" Level only, or sat at least 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

"off the cuff" opinions on the helpfulness or efficacy of any given form of vocational guidance. A careers teacher who endorsed every idea or suggestion produced by each boy could probably obtain a high "popularity rating" - at least in the short run - but would scarcely be fulfilling his function as a vocational adviser by so doing. One feels, nevertheless, that a situation where only a quite small proportion of boys (18% overall) is prepared to say, when on the point of leaving school, that they have been individually helped by their careers teacher, cannot be regarded as satisfactory.

Provision for careers work on the part of schools is an important topic of the present enquiry and for the greater part of this section we have therefore focussed our analysis and discussion specifically upon the school careers system and upon the sample boys' reactions to it as such. However, it must always be borne in mind that the efforts of the official guidance, information and placement agencies in general and of school careers staff in particular account for only a part of the sum total of influence and assistance in matters of careers and employment which impinges upon school-leavers. Even if we confine ourselves to considering overt personal influences in this field, it is necessary, if we are to see the contribution of the careers teacher in its true perspective, to weigh it against the contributions of parents, friends, Careers Officers and any other helpers or advisers with whom the boy has had to do.

There are a number of ways in which this could be done, but for the present we shall confine ourselves to comparing careers teachers with other careers helpers and advisers in terms of the subjective impression which they succeeded in making upon the boys in the sample. We shall then produce some evidence and make some suggestions concerning ways in which the influence of the careers teacher, measured by this criterion, might be increased.

Table 9.12 Categories of careers helper or adviser considered "most helpful"

PERSON THOUGHT "MOST HELPFUL"	PROPORTION OF BOYS WHO THOUGHT PERSON NAMED "MOST HELPFUL"
	%
Parents (either or both)	33
Careers Officer/Youth Employment Officer	27
Careers Teacher	16
Other relatives	5
Other teachers	4
Friends	3
Other answers	12
TOTAL	100

Table 9.12 is based upon answers given to a question placed at the end of the Boys' interview schedule, which asked the informant to sum up his experience to date by saying which person, of all those who had helped or advised him, he felt had been most helpful. It will be seen that, although only 16% of boys cited a careers teacher, this proportion is in fact only exceeded in the case of parents and Youth Employment staff. This was so in spite of the fact that many boys were not even aware that a careers teacher was available to advise them and that a large majority had never had a personal talk with the teacher concerned (cf Tables 9.7 and 9.10 above). In these circumstances it seems worth asking whether boys who had apparently been more "exposed" to the efforts of careers teachers rated them higher

than average in terms of "helpfulness". Table 9.13 shows that this was, indeed, so.

Table 9.13 Circumstances affecting whether or not the boy considered the careers teacher to have been his most helpful careers adviser

CIRCUMSTANCES DEFINING GROUP	PROPORTION OF BOYS IN GROUP SAYING THAT CAREERS TEACHER HAD BEEN MOST HELPFUL TO THEM	Base (rewtd)
Boys who said there was no teacher responsible for advising leavers in their class on careers	1%	287
Boys who said there was a teacher responsible for advising leavers, but that they had not yet had an individual talk with him	14%	984
All boys who said they had had an individual talk with a careers teacher	30%	456
Boys who said they had had an individual talk with a careers teacher and had found it helpful	36%	313
All boys	16%	1727

In Table 9.13 we have attempted to distinguish boys very roughly into groups which varied in their degree of "exposure" to a careers teacher; within each of these groups the proportion of boys citing the careers teacher as the person whose careers advice etc. had been most helpful to them (by the time of the Stage I interview) is shown. It will be noted that there is a very striking rise in this proportion as we move from boys who thought there was no teacher responsible for advising them individually to boys who had had an individual talk with a careers teacher.

Perhaps the most significant point about this analysis is that almost a third of those boys who had had any individual attention from the teacher - irrespective of the content of what passed between them - placed the careers teacher at the head of their list of careers helpers and advisers. This suggests two conclusions: the first is that, measured in terms of the boys' subjective reactions, time and effort devoted by the careers teacher to seeing leavers individually seems to pay rather high dividends; the second is that many leavers must feel a great need for expert individual guidance, since their response to even a bare minimum of personal attention from the careers teacher is so markedly favourable. (This is not, of course, to suggest that a single individual talk was the only way in which sample boys were helped by their careers teachers).

9.5 Careers provision for sample boys as rated by Careers Officers

The analyses presented in the preceding sections were based upon certain rather crude measures of the quantity of careers work done in the sample schools, and of its effects as indicated by the subjective reactions and opinions of the boys concerned. Such an approach has obvious limitations, though we would argue that, the overall situation as regards careers work in the schools being what it is, simple quantitative considerations deserve considerable prominence. In particular, the crudity of the measures used and the absence of any objective index of quality or effectiveness can be criticized as giving an incomplete and perhaps unfair impression of the work of school careers staff.

It must be said here that, in order to examine and evaluate in detail, and in a methodologically adequate way, the qualitative aspects of careers work in schools, a quite different type of study would have been required, which the present authors were not in a position to attempt. Such a study might involve, for example, hour-by-hour observation of careers teachers at work and careers programmes in action at particular schools, with the detailed objectives pursued and detailed results achieved being evaluated in relation to approved principles and techniques of vocational guidance. The results of a study on these lines, were it to be carried out, would certainly complement and illuminate those of the present enquiry.

In the absence of a detailed qualitative study we are able to offer only a single independent measure of the adequacy of the careers work carried out in the sample schools. As part of the Stage I field work, those local Careers Officers who were mainly responsible for dealing with leavers from the schools in our sample were asked to rate the school(s) with which they were acquainted with respect to the overall adequacy of their careers provision for fourth and/or fifth year boy leavers. By a method analogous to that described in the case of data supplied by teachers, these Careers Officers' ratings were transferred to the records of sample boys in the school years to which the ratings referred. The ratings were, of course, broad, subjective and impressionistic and individual Careers Officers no doubt differed to some extent in the standards of adequacy which they applied. On the other hand, the ratings may be said to represent the assessment of independent observers who were uniquely well-placed and well-qualified to pass judgments on the quality and effectiveness of school careers provision.

The Total column in Tables 9.14 shows that, overall, only some 18% of boys had left from school years for which the Careers Officer considered the school careers provision to be "completely adequate". On the other hand, the careers provision for some 38% of the boys in our sample was rated as "inadequate". From the figures in the body of the tables it can be seen that the provision for pupils at secondary modern schools and for non-examination candidates (i.e. early leavers) was rated slightly better than average, while that for comprehensive school pupils and for GCE and CSE candidates was judged worse than average.

The ratings upon which the above analysis was based referred, of course, to overall careers provision, which was intended to cover formal careers teaching and all kinds of careers functions and activities, as well as individual guidance and interviews conducted in school by a careers teacher or Careers Officer. We are not able to validate them in any adequate or comprehensive way, but it may be of interest to examine the relationship between the ratings and the indices of sample boys' exposure to school careers work used in previous sections.

Table 9.14 Careers Officer's opinion of the adequacy of careers provision for leavers in boy's school year analysed by (a) type of school attended and (b) level of examinations boy sat

(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

CAREERS OFFICER'S OPINION OF THE ADEQUACY OF SCHOOL CAREERS PROVISION FOR LEAVERS IN BOY'S SCHOOL YEAR	Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Provision "completely adequate"	15	9	22	18
Provision "just about adequate"	53	42	43	44
Provision "inadequate"	32	49	35	38
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Number of schools sampled	27	15	54	96

(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT

CAREERS OFFICER'S OPINION OF THE ADEQUACY OF SCHOOL CAREERS PROVISION FOR LEAVERS IN BOY'S SCHOOL YEAR	Wholly or mainly GCE*	Wholly or mainly CSE+	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Provision "completely adequate"	16	16	20	18
Provision "just about adequate"	38	38	47	44
Provision "inadequate"	47	46	33	38
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100

* Sat subject(s) at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

It can be seen from Table 9.15 that there is a modest but systematic relationship between the boys' reports of their exposure to school careers work and the Careers Officers' ratings of the careers provision for boys in their school year. Only 5% of boys from schools where the provision was rated "completely adequate", as against 28% from schools where it was rated as "inadequate", were unaware that there was a teacher responsible for advising them on careers. On the other hand, 24% of the former group, as against 13% of the latter, reported that their careers teacher had taken the initiative in seeing them individually. It is interesting that there is no variation between groups as regards the proportion who had themselves taken the initiative in seeking out the careers teacher; it seems that this reflects a characteristic of certain boys, rather than of particular schools. It is also worth noting that the proportion of boys who knew there was a careers teacher, but had not yet had an individual talk with him, was highest amongst the group exposed to "completely adequate" careers provision. This may mean that a further proportion of boys in this group were likely to have individual talks with their careers teacher at the very end of the term, after our Stage I interview had taken place.

Table 9.15 Measures of sample boy's "exposure" to school careers work analysed by Careers Officer's rating of careers provision for leavers in boy's school year

	CAREERS OFFICER'S RATING OF CAREERS PROVISION			
DEGREE OF EXPOSURE TO CAREERS WORK AS REPORTED BY BOY	Completely adequate	Just about adequate	Inadequate	Total
	%	%	%	%
Boy did not know there was a teacher responsible for advising leavers from his class	5	15	28	18
Boy knew there was a careers teacher, but had never talked to him individually	62	59	49	56
Boy had had an individual talk with careers teacher on his own initiative	9	9	9	9
Boy had had an individual talk with careers teacher on careers teacher's initiative	24	16	13	16
Boy had had an individual talk with careers teacher, but not clear on whose initiative	0	1	1	*
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Base 1. Number of boys-reweighted	317	753	657	1727
Base 2. Number of adequacy ratings	28	80	61	169

9.6 Summarized main findings of school-based analysis of data from interviews with head teachers and careers teachers

As explained in the Introduction to this chapter, the information supplied by head teachers and careers teachers may be analysed in several different ways. In Sections 9.2-9.4 above, it has been used to indicate the amount and nature of school-based careers work to which the boys in our main sample had been exposed. In the present section we summarize the results of analyses intended to compare and contrast the 96 schools sampled, in terms of the careers work programmes which they supported.

The practical usefulness of a study such as the present one depends very largely upon the degree to which it is safe and reasonable to generalize from the observed characteristics of the sample to those of the population from which the sample is drawn. We must therefore re-emphasize the limitations which apply to generalizations based upon our sample of schools. These limitations arise directly from the method of sampling used and from the size of the sample obtained. The general considerations governing the sampling design were discussed in Chapter I; here we shall merely stress the points which apply directly to analyses presented in this section. There are three main points to be made.

(a) The representativeness of the sample of schools is limited in the first instance by that of the sample of areas within which schools were selected. As pointed out in Chapter I, the ten areas to which the present study is confined cannot be regarded as a statistically adequate sample of all areas in England and Wales, even though it may be felt on other grounds that they constitute a reasonably typical cross-section.

(b) Our main concern in designing the sampling procedure was to secure adequate representation of fourth and fifth year boy school-leavers within the ten areas selected. For particular reasons (see Chapter I) it was desired to draw a sample in which examination candidates (i.e. fifth year leavers) were somewhat over-represented. For these reasons only schools which "yielded" significant numbers of younger male leavers were sampled, but, within this group of schools, those likely to yield examination candidates (i.e. the more "academic" schools) were over-sampled. Our sample of schools thus contains no girls schools and no schools where (virtually) all boys stayed on into the sixth form, while it overrepresents schools producing a high proportion of post- "O" Level or post- CSE leavers.

(c) The sample comprises only 96 schools in all, these being made up of 27 grammar and technical schools, 15 comprehensives and 54 secondary moderns. Even if the method of selection had been such as to secure the most effective possible representation of all maintained secondary schools yielding leavers of the specified age and sex in England and Wales, the smallness of the numbers involved would have imposed severe limitations upon the scope of the statistical analysis which could usefully have been attempted. That this is so may easily be seen from the following example. Given our sub-samples of 27 grammar or technical schools and 54 secondary moderns, it might at first sight appear significant if 50% of the former, as against only 30% of the latter, were found to be operating a particular type of careers system. However, a simple calculation shows that, if another, similar sample of

96 schools were drawn from the same population, it is quite possible that, within this second sample, the proportions of grammar/technical and of secondary modern schools operating the careers system in question would turn out to be virtually identical. In other words, the degree of "sampling error" which must be allowed for in drawing conclusions from samples of this size is very large and, consequently, only the broadest, simplest and most obvious conclusions can be established on a strictly statistical basis. If we seek to go beyond these, it can only be on the basis of non-statistical judgments about the "typicalness" of the schools and areas studied.

It will be apparent from the points just made that our analysis of schools can in no way claim to produce statistically definitive results. However, the practical situation in which we find ourselves is one where, to the best of our knowledge, no national study of careers work in schools, based upon a statistically adequate sample, has so far been carried out. In these circumstances it appears worthwhile to present selected results from an analysis based upon the 96 schools in our sample, using information supplied by the 96 head teachers and 112 careers teachers interviewed. In order not to burden the text with detail referring to this essentially subsidiary analysis, we shall present in this section only a summary of main findings.

(a) Basic details of the schools. As already mentioned, 96 schools were included in the analysis, of which 27 were grammar or technical schools, 15 were comprehensives and 54 were secondary moderns. The comprehensives were mainly drawn from only two of the ten areas covered by the analysis, but there were secondary moderns from every area and grammar or technical schools from every area but one.

Forty three of the schools had under 300 boy pupils enrolled in the summer of 1968 and 12 had over 600. Eight schools (secondary moderns) had no fifth year pupils (i.e. all boys left during or at the end of their fourth year); at a further 43 half or more of the boys left by the end of their fourth year, but at 21 schools at least 90% of the boys stayed on into their fifth year. Twenty five schools had no sixth form, but at 22 70% or more of the boys stayed on into their sixth year.

At 66 schools there was at least one boy sitting GCE "O" Level examinations in the summer of 1968 and at 41 schools there was at least one boy sitting GCE "A" Level examinations. On the other hand, at 14 schools there were no boys sitting examinations at either GCE (either level) or CSE at that time.

At 24 schools the head teacher estimated that at least 30% of pupils were the children of non-manual workers, while at 12 schools this proportion was estimated at under 10%. At 11 schools the head estimated that more than 60% of pupils were the children of semi- or unskilled manual workers. At 12 schools under 6% of pupils had applied for and received free school meals, whereas in 11 schools the proportion was over 24%.

(b) Staffing and timetabling provision for careers work. In 8 schools the head teacher alone took any formal responsibility for careers work; 64 schools had one teacher who dealt with careers as well as teaching some other subject or subjects, while 24 schools (12 of them comprehensives) had more than one teacher (excluding the head teacher) who took some responsibility for careers work. There were no full-time careers teachers.

In 38 out of the 88 schools which had at least one careers teacher other than the head, the principal or only careers teacher estimated that his teaching load in non-careers subjects was below the average for the school, but in 50 schools the teacher said that his load was equal to or greater than average.

Ten careers teachers said they devoted no school periods at all to careers work; the remainder spent an average of about three periods per week on it, including 22 who said they spent at least five periods per week. This time included that devoted to regular careers lessons, which formed part of the curriculum for certain pupils in 42 schools. The remaining 54 schools, including 23 out of the 27 grammar and technical schools, had no regular careers lessons. Forty one schools provided careers lessons for boys in their fourth year, but only 9 for boys in their fifth year.

In 59 schools the head teacher said that school courses were specially adapted to the needs of fourth year leavers and in 30 schools the head said that courses were specially adapted to the needs of fifth year leavers.

(c) Head teachers' general views on school-based careers work and preparation for leaving. Only two out of 96 head teachers felt that the school and its staff should play no part in providing careers help for fourth and fifth year boy leavers from their schools; 87 thought such help should (ideally) be provided for all fourth and fifth year classes. Large majorities (87 or over) favoured occasional visits to places of work, occasional talks by outside speakers on careers topics and consultation, as standard practice, between intending leavers and a member of staff able to advise on careers (but cf. findings under (e) below and Section 9.4 above). On the other hand, only 54 heads favoured the provision of "regular lessons on careers and related topics as part of the normal school timetable". Of these, 19 were at schools which did not, in fact, provide careers lessons.

Fifty heads thought that the giving of careers help or advice to boys in the fourth year was "a very important part of the school's function", but 12 thought it was "only a minor part of the school's function". In the case of careers help and advice for fifth year boys, 53 heads thought it a very important part and 7 only a minor part of the school's function. Eighty two heads said that they themselves took some part in helping fourth and fifth year leavers as regards careers.

(d) Careers teachers. Apart from cases where the head was the sole careers teacher, the remaining 88 schools produced 103 teachers who played some part in careers work with fourth and fifth year boy leavers and were therefore interviewed as part of the study. One school had four (part-time) careers teachers, one had three, 12 had two and the remaining 74 had one careers teacher only.

About half of the careers teachers interviewed said that they had in some sense volunteered for the job because they considered careers work particularly interesting and important. The remainder said that careers responsibilities had devolved upon them for some other reason - for example, because the job of careers master "went with" the job of deputy head, or because it had been a condition of their appointment that they should undertake some careers work.

According to the head teachers, some 64% of careers teachers were assigned a lighter teaching load in other subjects than the average for the school, in view of their careers responsibilities. According to the teachers themselves, however, the teaching load in other subjects was lighter than average in only 44% of cases. According to the head teachers about 15% of the careers teachers held a graded post or received a special responsibility allowance in recognition of their careers responsibilities alone; a further 44% held a graded post or received an allowance in recognition of careers along with other special responsibilities.

Almost two thirds of the careers teachers said that they found careers work, or activities connected with careers, regularly took up their time during lunch hours and outside school hours and almost all the remainder said this happened occasionally or at particular times of year.

More than four careers teachers in five had, within the previous two years, been to a course, conference or convention organized for careers teachers and most had attended several such functions. About four careers teachers in ten had had some other job besides school-teaching; almost all of these said they found their experience in outside employment helped them in their careers work.

When asked at the end of the interview if they wished to add any further general comments, almost half the careers teachers mentioned the inadequacy of the time available for careers work, a fifth the need for better physical facilities (see also under (k) below) while significant proportions referred to other deficiencies in the provision or content of careers work at the school. However, about one teacher in six expressed optimism or satisfaction about the careers work situation.

(e) Individual careers guidance activities. Twelve careers teachers were at schools which (they said) had no fourth year leavers. Of the remaining 91 teachers, 81 said that they normally had a talk on careers with at least some fourth year leavers, either individually or in small groups of two or three boys. Of these 81, 49 claimed to talk to every fourth year leaver and 32 to some only. Thirteen of the 81 said that they normally took the initiative in seeing leavers, 19 that they normally expected the boy to take the initiative and 49 that either might take the initiative.

Eleven careers teachers were at schools which had no fifth year leavers. Of the remaining 92, 83 said that they normally had a talk on careers with at least some fifth year leavers and, of these 83, 57 claimed to talk individually with every fifth year leaver. Thirteen of the 83 said they normally took the initiative in seeing leavers, 17 said that they normally expected the boy to take the initiative and 53 that either might take the initiative. (See also Section 9.4 above).

(f) Content of careers lessons and adapted courses. The careers teachers at 42 schools mentioned and described the content of 56 careers courses. Of these courses, 51 included material designed to help boys in choosing a job, 25 included information on working conditions and the employment environment and how to adjust to it, 25 covered more general practical and moral aspects of adjustment to adult life and 23 provided instruction and practice in applying for jobs.

The head-teachers of 59 schools, speaking at a more general level of ways in which they considered school courses to have been adapted to the needs of fourth and fifth year boy leavers, mentioned most frequently careers work in various forms; emphasis on practical work or suitably slanted academic work; community training and general preparation for adult life and various special teaching techniques.

(g) Other careers activities. Careers teachers at all 96 schools said that some careers activities other than classroom instruction were organized for at least some boys at the school. At virtually all schools members of the Youth Employment Service gave talks and/or interviewed individual leavers. At more than eight schools in ten occasional talks were given by speakers from the Armed Forces or the Police and from the world of business and industry and visits to places of work were arranged. Careers conventions or exhibitions were held and careers films were shown at more than seven schools in ten. (Cf. Section 9.3 above for analyses showing how many of the boys in the sample were actually exposed to these activities). Careers conventions and exhibitions were most frequently organized by the local Youth Employment Service, but the other activities mentioned were most often organized by the school careers staff themselves. As might be expected, it was predominantly pupils in their fourth, fifth and sixth years who participated in these activities.

(h) Contacts with parents of pupils. At 8 schools where the head was the sole careers teacher no information was obtained about careers contacts with parents. At 22 of the remaining 88 schools the principal careers teacher said that he had not spoken personally to the parents of any of that year's fourth and fifth year leavers about their son's future career. A further 20 of the principal careers teachers said they had spoken personally to the parents of less than one leaver in ten and only 15 (12 of them at secondary modern schools) claimed to have spoken to the parents of more than 50% of leavers.

At 43 of the 88 schools parents of boys in a particular school year or years (most often the third year) were invited to a meeting at which choice of school courses and its bearing on careers was discussed. At 18 schools parents were invited to careers conventions etc. and at 12 the careers teachers reported that careers discussions sometimes took place with parents invited to the school Speech Day or Prize-giving. In the case of 34 schools other occasions were mentioned when parents were invited to the school in groups for functions at which careers matters might be discussed. At 37 of the 88 schools parents were invited to attend their son's interview with a member of the Youth Employment Service and at 29 schools individual invitations to particular parents to discuss their son's career prospects were issued on other occasions.

(i) School contacts with the Youth Employment Service: head-teachers' replies. The heads of 7 of the 96 schools estimated that a member of the Y.E.S. visited the school at least once a week, on average, during the course of the school year. A further 25 said that visits averaged once a fortnight, but 11 said that visits from a Careers Officer occurred less often than once or twice a term.

Twenty five head teachers said they personally saw or spoke on the telephone to a member of the Youth Employment Service at least once a week, but 11 said this occurred less than once or twice a term or never. These personal contacts most frequently occurred when the head wished to ask for or give information about an individual pupil's career prospects or problems, or in connection with the Careers Officer's visits to the school.

Eighty nine of the 96 heads said that some member(s) of their staff had direct contacts, while on school premises, with members of the Y.E.S. and, of these, 17 said that all the staff were involved in such contacts. As in the case of the heads themselves, such contacts were most often made in connection with the Careers Officer's visits to the school or with the careers problems of individual leavers.

Forty seven heads said they felt that there were ways in which the careers help provided by the Y.E.S. for boys in their fourth and fifth years at the school could be improved. The improvement most frequently mentioned was an increase in the amount of time Y.E.S. staff were able to spend at the school and to devote to individual pupils. Thirty heads made this point, while 16 felt that attention should be given to improving the liaison between boys and employers.

(j) School contacts with the Youth Employment Service: careers teachers' replies. The 103 careers teachers interviewed were asked to say which of a list of possible types of contact with the Y.E.S. they had had during the current school term. The most frequent forms of contact were: discussions about individual boys on the telephone or when the

C.O. visited the school to interview leavers; completion of forms (e.g. Y15) with information about individual leavers (all mentioned by between 70 and 80 teachers); attendance at careers functions organized by or in collaboration with the Y.E.S. or discussion of individual cases at informal meetings (mentioned by between 60 and 70 teachers); and "sitting in" while the C.O. interviewed individual boys (mentioned by 47 teachers).

The careers teachers were also questioned about contacts between boys in the various school years and classes and members of the Y.E.S. (only classes up to and including the fifth year were discussed). Of the groups mentioned as having contacts with the Y.E.S. about one in 10 were in their third school year, half were in their fourth year and 4 in 10 were in their fifth year. In 7 cases out of 10 all the boys in the group (i.e. the school class or year) were interviewed or spoken to by the C.O.; in most of the remaining cases only prospective leavers or boys who asked to do so came into contact with the C.O.

Asked for their views about the way careers work was shared between the school careers staff and members of the local Y.E.S., 11 teachers said that the Y.E.S. should take a bigger share than it did at present, 21 said that the school should take a bigger share and the remainder felt that the present sharing of responsibilities was about right.

(k) Physical and financial facilities for careers work at the school. Careers teachers were asked how much money was available for careers work at the school; whether they considered it adequate; if not, and if more money were made available, what it should be spent on; which items on a list of physical facilities for careers work were available at the school and, of those available, which were regularly used for that purpose. Many teachers found it impossible to say exactly how much money was available for careers work, as no specific sum was set aside for that purpose. However, 14 considered that the sum that was, in practice, available was not entirely adequate and 22 that it was definitely inadequate.

The items upon which careers teachers most frequently said they would spend any extra money were; more careers literature or facilities for storing, indexing and displaying it; (more) visits to places of work; a moving film projector and a private room and/or telephone for the use of careers staff.

The answers given to the questions about availability and use of physical facilities are presented in tabular form below. The figures are based on answers given by the principal careers teacher in each school, including head teachers in cases where the head was the sole careers teacher.

Looking first at the figures for regular use of facilities, it can be seen that there is a very wide range. Even the highest usage figure - for use of careers literature - by no means covers all the 96 schools, while at the other extreme there were only 8 schools where a private telephone was regularly used by careers staff, 17 where clerical assistance was much used and 43 where careers interviews regularly took place in a private room. There were also wide variations in the extent to which facilities which were (in theory) available were, in fact, regularly used for careers purposes. No questions were asked which might throw light on the reasons for this.

Table 9.16 Availability and usage of physical facilities for careers work at sample schools, as reported by careers teachers

TYPE OF FACILITY	No. of schools at which facility was said to be -	
	(a) Available	(b) Used regularly
Careers books or pamphlets	96	81
Notice boards or other facilities for display of careers literature or information	87	74
Library space for careers literature	89	72
An index system for careers literature or information	64	53
A moving film projector	92	50
A television set	85	43
A special room for careers interviews	49	43
Storage space for careers materials other than literature	44	39
A slide projector	94	27
A tape recorder	89	23
A radio set	87	19
Clerical assistance for careers staff	28	17
A private telephone for careers staff	8	8
TOTAL (all schools)	96	96

(1) Careers Officers' ratings of the adequacy of school careers provision. For each school in the sample, the local Careers Officer who was mainly responsible for dealing with fourth and fifth year leavers from that school was asked to rate the school's careers provision for boys in each of these two categories. Adequacy ratings were thus obtained for 76 schools which had fourth year leavers, on the one hand, and 86 schools which had fifth year leavers, on the other. The provision for fourth year leavers was rated as "completely adequate" in 12 cases, as "just about adequate" in 40 cases and as "inadequate" in 23 cases. The provision for fifth year leavers was rated as "completely adequate" in 11 cases, as "just about adequate" in 37 cases and as "inadequate" in 35 cases.

9.7 Summary

1. Data bearing on careers work in the schools included in the sample were obtained from three sources, namely, teachers at the schools, local Careers Officers acquainted with the schools and boys in the main sample who attended the schools. Information given by head teachers, careers teachers and Careers Officers about careers provision for particular groups of pupils (e.g. those in particular classes or school years) was transferred to the individual records of sample boys who were members of the groups referred to. This procedure produced measures which were of limited precision and statistical reliability when applied to individuals, but made it possible to characterize boys in terms of the amount and type of careers work to which they had "officially" been exposed and to relate this to their own knowledge and reactions. The same data could also be analysed from the point of view of school provision for careers work, as well as from the point of view of individual exposure.

2. Staffing provision for careers work in the sample schools was very roughly categorized in terms of number of staff involved and whether or not the workload of these teachers in other subjects was lighter than the average for the school. It was found that 6% of the boys had attended schools (mainly small ones) where the head teacher took responsibility for all careers work. A third of the boys had been pupils at schools where there was one careers teacher, who was expected to carry at least an average teaching load in other subjects. Just over a quarter had had one careers teacher who said his teaching load in other subjects was lighter than average, while 35% of boys had attended schools with more than one (part-time) careers teacher. Most of the schools with two or more careers teachers were large comprehensives. We found no full-time careers teachers and there were no major differences between grammar/technical schools and secondary moderns in terms of overall staffing provision for careers work.

3. Just over half the boys had been in school years where the careers teacher claimed to see all leavers individually (or in small groups of two or three) and 37% were from school years where "some but not all" leavers were seen. GCE candidates and leavers from grammar and technical schools were more likely to be seen individually than other boys. One boy in ten attended a school where the careers teacher said he took the initiative in interviewing each leaver individually. Two in ten were at schools where leavers needing help or advice were expected to seek out the careers teacher, while six in ten were at schools where individual interviews took place sometimes on the teacher's initiative and sometimes on the boy's. The careers teachers of 5% of the boys did not claim to see any of them individually.

4. Four boys in ten had been members of classes receiving formal "careers lessons" as a regular part of their school curriculum. For non-examination candidates the proportion was 52%, but for CSE and GCE candidates it was only 20% and 12% respectively. Only 10% of leavers from grammar and technical schools had received careers lessons. Methods and problems of choosing a job were covered in almost all careers courses, the next most popular topics being methods of getting a job and information on "what it's like at work".

5. Virtually all the boys in the sample had, according to their careers teachers, been exposed to some kind of extra-curricular careers activity. Some 86% had heard talks and/or been interviewed by members of the Youth Employment Service, more than 70% were members of classes which had visited places of work or heard speakers from the Armed Forces or the Police and over 60% had attended careers conventions and film shows and heard outside speakers from business and industry. On average, each boy had been exposed to four or more of these activities, but it should be remembered that each activity might have occurred no more than once during the school year. Film shows and visits to places of work were mentioned more frequently in relation to pupils at secondary moderns and non-examination candidates than in the case of other leavers.

6. According to the careers teachers, the parents of about three quarters of the boys in the sample had been invited to the school on some occasion(s) when their son's future career could be discussed with school staff. Of the parents (mainly fathers) who were interviewed as part of the present enquiry, only 8% said they had discussed their son's career with the head teacher and 3% with a careers teacher (though corresponding figures for mothers would probably have been rather higher). Groups of parents were most frequently invited to the school for consultation on choice of academic course or on when their sons should leave school; parents as individuals were most frequently invited to attend their son's interview with a Careers Officer.

7. Whereas some member or members of the teaching staff had official responsibility for careers work in each of the sample schools, 18% of the boys in the sample were not aware that there was a particular teacher who was supposed to advise members of (the boy's) class about what they were going to do after leaving school. The proportion of boys who were apparently unaware that individual careers help was available was highest amongst non-examination candidates, pupils at comprehensive schools and pupils at schools where the head teacher was responsible for all careers work (though in the last case some boys may have misinterpreted the question). Three quarters of the boys in the sample said that they had never had a personal talk with a careers teacher (but some talks may have occurred after the Stage I interviews had taken place). The proportion of boys who had had a personal talk was highest (52%) at schools where the careers teacher said he made a point of seeing leavers individually and lowest (4%) at schools where the head was the sole careers teacher. The actual level of individual contact between leavers and careers staff thus appeared to be low, even by comparison with the teachers' own estimates (cf. paragraph 3 above) and certainly below the level required for an adequate careers guidance programme. The situation was worst in the case of non-examination candidates, only 20% of whom said they had had a personal interview, whereas for GCE candidates the proportion was 44%. The abler boys were more likely both to have been approached by their careers teacher and to have gone to the teacher on their own initiative. However, of the boys who had had a personal talk, non-examination candidates (73%) were more likely than CSE candidates (67%) or GCE candidates (58%) to have found the talk useful. Overall, only 18% of boys had both had a talk and found it useful, but 16% nevertheless named their careers teacher as the most helpful of all those who had helped and advised them with respect to careers etc. - a proportion exceeded only in the case of parents and Youth Employment staff. Amongst those boys who had had an

individual talk with a careers teacher, the proportion who found the careers teacher most helpful was 30%, whilst amongst those who had both had a talk and found it helpful, the proportion was 36%. This suggests that the boys' response to even a bare minimum of personal attention from their careers teacher was markedly favourable (though the teachers concerned no doubt helped them in other ways as well).

8. Local Careers Officers who were responsible for dealing with leavers from the sample schools were asked to rate the overall careers provision at the schools for fourth and fifth year boy leavers. In total, only 18% of the sample boys had left from school years for which Careers Officers considered the provision to be "completely adequate", while the provision for 44% of leavers was rated as "inadequate". Provision for non-examination candidates was judged to be rather better and for GCE and CSE candidates rather worse than average. Leavers from school years where the careers provision was judged to be "completely adequate" were more likely than average to know that there was a teacher responsible for advising them on careers and to have a careers teacher who made a point of seeing boys individually on his own initiative. The opposite was true of leavers from school years where the careers provision was judged to be "inadequate".

9. A separate analysis of the data already discussed, together with other information provided by head teachers and careers teachers, was carried out in such a way as to focus upon school careers organization, rather than upon the degree to which boys in the main sample had been "exposed" to various forms of careers work. The results of this analysis were summarized in Section 9.6 above.

CHAPTER X

CONTACTS WITH THE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

10.1 Introduction

At the time of writing, the Youth Employment Service is responsible for providing all young people up to the age of 18, whether at school or in employment, with appropriate forms of vocational information, help and guidance. In practice, a large proportion of the staff time and resources available is devoted to the task of systematically contacting and interviewing pupils who propose to leave school in the near future. Whilst there is provision for helping sixth formers, the bulk of the work is done with leavers aged 15 and 16, who form the large majority of the school-leaving population and from whose ranks our sample of boys is drawn.

As a basic minimum, the YES usually aims to give prospective leavers some general advice on how to choose a job or a career, followed by one or more personal interviews with each youngster, at which individual plans and prospects are discussed and individual careers guidance is given. These activities normally take place during the latter part of the youngster's final year at school. It should, of course, be added that many young people have other significant contacts with members of the YES, both before and after they leave school. The data obtained from careers teachers and analysed in Chapter IX showed that members of the YES often work closely with school careers staff, help to organize and participate in school careers functions and so on, while they are always available to assist a pupil who wishes to consult them about a careers problem. Post-school-leaving contacts will be discussed in detail in the report on later stages of this enquiry.

The giving of vocational help and guidance depends crucially upon subtle inter-personal reactions and relationships which cannot adequately be studied using large-scale, standardized survey techniques. Since the present enquiry is based upon such techniques, we have made no attempt to evaluate the qualitative aspects of vocational guidance, as carried on by Careers Officers at school-leaving interviews and the like, but have concentrated upon more or less crude, quantitative aspects of the situation. Our treatment is thus necessarily incomplete and one-sided and needs to be interpreted in conjunction with the results of qualitative studies, if a fair impression of the work of the YES with school-leavers is to be gained.

The arrangement of the present chapter is as follows. Section 10.2 deals with estimates, derived from various sources, of the exposure of sample boys to certain types of contact with members of the YES. Section 10.3 describes the development and application of a scale designed to measure the boys' short-term and subjective reactions to such contacts as they had so far had with Careers Officers. In Section 10.4 an attempt is made to describe and analyse certain aspects of the transactions which took place at boys' school-leaving interviews with Careers Officers, as reported by the boys themselves. Finally, in Section 10.5, boys' and Careers Officers' versions of what took place at the school-leaving interview are compared, with special reference to the Careers Officer's views concerning the main job at which the boy was aiming at the time of the Stage I survey interview.

10.2 Contacts between school-leavers and members of the Youth Employment Service

In this section we shall examine, in very broad and simplified terms, some evidence on the amount and type of contact which had taken place between boys in our sample and members of the Youth Employment Service (YES), up to the time when the Stage I interviews took place. In the main, the evidence is derived from answers given by the boys themselves in the course of the interview, but at certain points it is of interest to compare data obtained from two other sources, namely, careers teachers at the schools attended by the boys and records of school-leaving interviews kept by the local YES.

At the time of Stage I, the title "Youth Employment Officer" was still in official use in some of the ten areas covered by the study, while in others the general title of "Careers Officer" had only recently been adopted. Interviewers were told of the situation in their area and asked to use whichever title seemed familiar to the informants. Virtually all the boys in the sample said that they had heard of someone called the "Youth Employment Officer" or the "Careers Officer" (cf Tables 9.7 etc. above); they were then asked how many personal interviews they had had with the officer thus referred to. A simplified distribution of the answers obtained, analysed by school type and level of examinations sat, is shown in Tables 10.1.

From the "Total" column of the tables it can be seen that 89% of the boys in the sample said that they had had at least one personal interview with a Careers Officer (CO) by the time when our Stage I interview took place. This will not be an exact reflection of the proportion seen while still at school, since, owing to the spread of interviewing and school-leaving dates, some of the boys had already left school by the time we saw them, whereas others had up to three weeks of term time still to complete. However, the imprecision is unlikely to amount to more than a few percentage points.

Turning to the figures in the body of the tables, it will be noted that only 75% of leavers from grammar and technical schools and 76% of GCE candidates (these being, of course, largely overlapping categories) said they had had a personal interview with a CO by the time of the Stage I interview. This compares with figures of 89-93% for the other categories of leaver distinguished and presents an interesting contrast with estimates made by careers teachers. Overall, the latter thought that about 94% of boys were seen by a CO before leaving, as compared with the corresponding figure of 89% in Tables 10.1. However, their estimates for leavers from grammar and technical schools and for GCE candidates were 94% and 100% respectively, giving discrepancies of 19% and 24%. Some clue as to the reason for these unusually large discrepancies is provided by the results presented in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2 shows clearly that, whereas the proportion of boys who had ever been interviewed by a Careers Officer varies relatively little as between Summer and Easter leavers, the proportion is significantly lower amongst that minority of boys who left school after the beginning of the 1968-69 academic year, but before the end of the Easter term 1969. Most of these boys were GCE candidates - of whom the greater proportion were at grammar or technical schools - who stayed on in school after sitting "O" Level examinations in Summer 1968, either with the original intention of undertaking a sixth form course, or else in order to resit certain subjects at

Table 10.1 School-leaver's report of number of personal contacts with Careers Officer, analysed by (a) type of secondary school attended and (b) level of examinations sat

(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH CAREERS OFFICER	Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Interviewed at least twice by C.O. Interviewed once only by C.O.	33) 42) 75	43) 47) 90	32) 59) 91	34) 55) 89
Never interviewed by C.O.	25	10	9	11
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	188	384	1154	1726

(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT

PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH CAREERS OFFICER	Wholly or mainly GCE[o]	Wholly or mainly CSE[+]	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Interviewed at least twice by C.O. Interviewed once only by C.O.	32) 44) 76	47) 45) 93	29) 59) 89	34) 55) 89
Never interviewed by C.O.	24	7	11	11
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	153	432	1141	1726

[o] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

[+] Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

the end of 1968 (or both). Such boys failed to follow through the normal course of the academic stream in which they found themselves and, from an administrative point of view, constituted only a small deviant group amongst the school-population as a whole. Because of this they may well have been overlooked by (or, indeed, have dissociated themselves from) administrative arrangements between the schools and the local YES which were designed with the aim of catering for the more academic majority of their class-mates or,

Table 10.2 School-leaver's report of number of personal contacts with Careers Officer, analysed by date of leaving school

PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH CAREERS OFFICER	DATE OF LEAVING SCHOOL Before July 1968	 July 1968	 Sept. 1968- March 1969	 Easter 1969	 Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Interviewed at least twice by C.O.	42)	37)	32)	21)	34)
	93	90	74	89	89
Interviewed once only by C.O.	51)	53)	42)	68)	55)
Never interviewed by C.O.	7	10	26	11	11
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	109	1150	149	313	1726

at any rate, for pupils leaving school at the "normal" times of year (i.e. July or Easter).

Tables 10.1 and 10.2 also provide a breakdown of boys who had been seen by a Careers Officer, according to whether they had had one or more than one interview. From Table 10.1 it appears that pupils at comprehensive schools and CSE candidates were more likely than other boys to have had two or more personal interviews with a Careers Officer. However, both these effects need to be interpreted with caution. That associated with pupils at comprehensives seems to be largely a reflection of the distribution of sampled comprehensive schools as between area authorities which followed different policies regarding youth employment interviewing in schools (see below). The tendency for CSE candidates to have been interviewed more often, on the other hand, may be due to the fact that some of these boys, who tended to leave school before the end of the Summer term (see Section 7.2), may have been re-interviewed after leaving. This interpretation is supported by Table 10.2, which shows that pre-July leavers were, indeed, rather more likely than others to have been seen on two or more occasions. Table 10.2 also shows that Easter leavers - almost all of whom were 15-year-olds leaving without sitting GCE or CSE examinations - were considerably less likely than others to have been interviewed more than once. Thus, whereas only 21% of non-examination candidates leaving at Easter had been interviewed more than once, the figure for non-examination candidates leaving in the summer was about 33%.

Table 10.3 presents the boys' responses on the number of interviews they had had with a Careers Officer, analysed by area. It will be seen that the proportion of boys who claimed not to have been interviewed at all varies relatively little from one area to another, the extremes being 6% in Area 9 and 19% in Area 4. However, there were large area differences in proportions of boys who had been seen more than once by a Careers Officer by the time of the Stage I interview. In Area 3, for example, 60% of the boys

Table 10.3 School-leaver's report of number of personal contacts with Careers Officer, analysed by area of residence

AREA OF RESIDENCE		PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH CAREERS OFFICER				
		Interviewed twice or more by C.O	Interviewed once only by C.O.	Never interviewed by C.O.	Total	Base (rewtd)
(1)	%	28	57	14	100	188
(2)	%	41	45	14	100	158
(3)	%	60	32	8	100	204
(4)	%	44	37	19	100	157
(5)	%	26	59	15	100	148
(6)	%	39	49	12	100	173
(7)	%	30	61	9	100	160
(8)	%	15	77	9	100	202
(9)	%	35	58	6	100	160
(10)	%	22	70	8	100	176
TOTAL	%	34	55	111	100	1727

had been interviewed at least twice, whereas in Area 8 the proportion was as low as 15%. A separate analysis carried out at an earlier stage of the enquiry suggested that, overall, only about 10% of boys sought second interviews with a Careers Officer on their own initiative and that this proportion varied relatively little from one area to another. From this it follows that, in the majority of the cases (34%) where the boy was seen more than once, the initiative came from the Careers Officer. The variations apparent in Table 10.3 suggest that the number of times a particular boy was seen was determined largely by the general interviewing policy followed by the Youth Employment Service in his area. (It must, of course, be remembered that the number of separate contacts between boy and Careers Officer is not necessarily a valid index of the effectiveness of the help and guidance which the boy received).

Our third potential source of information on the degree and nature of contacts between sample boys and members of the YES derives from records kept at local Youth Employment Bureaux. As was explained in Sections 1.3 and 1.10, we had intended to obtain an assessment of each boy and an account of any interviews which had taken place prior to Stage I from the Careers Officer responsible. Because of the problems described in Appendix A, Section 6(b), it was not possible to obtain information from Careers Officers concerning about 7% of the boys, namely, those included in the Supplementary Summer sample. These cases have been excluded from Tables 10.4.

It will be noted that overall, the Careers Officers reported having interviewed 92% of the sample boys, which is 3% more than the estimate obtained from the boys themselves. The difference is almost certainly due to the

Table 10.4 Careers Officer's report of interviews with sample boy, analysed by (a) type of school attended and (b) level of examinations sat

CAREERS OFFICER'S REPORT	(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED			
	Grammar/ Technical	Com- prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
No record of interview with boy	24	7	5	8
Boy interviewed at least once	76	93	95	92
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	169	362	1069	1600

CAREERS OFFICER'S REPORT	(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT			
	Wholly or mainly GCE[o]	Wholly or mainly CSE[+]	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
No record of interview with boy	20	5	7	8
Boy interviewed at least once	80	95	93	92
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	135	383	1081	1600

[o] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

[+] Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

fact that information was obtained from Careers Officers rather later, on average, than from the boys and that further careers interviews had taken place in the meantime. Apart from this, the general pattern of results in Tables 10.4 confirms that noted in Tables 10.1. In particular, the tendency for leavers from grammar and technical schools and GCE candidates to slip through the Youth Employment net is again apparent.

In our analysis and discussion so far we have concentrated exclusively upon contact in the form of personal interviews between boys and members of the YES. This is not, of course, the only form of contact which takes place. Apart from interviewing leavers, the YES normally aims to ensure that pupils in their final school year receive some general advice and instruction on how to set about choosing a job or a career. This is normally done through the medium of a talk or talks given by a Careers Officer to groups of prospective leavers. In many schools a multitude of other contacts takes place, sometimes commencing at a much earlier stage in the pupils' school careers, but in broad and general terms a group talk of the kind described seems to be the second most widespread form of contact between school-leavers and members of the YES.

Table 10.5 Careers teachers' report of sample boys' exposure to talks by members of the Youth Employment Service, analysed by (a) type of school attended and (b) level of examinations sat

(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

WHETHER PUPILS IN BOY'S YEAR ATTENDED C.O. TALK (ACCORDING TO CAREERS TEACHER)	Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
Yes, attended	30	88	57	61
No, did not attend	70	12	43	39
TOTAL (all boys for whom usable information was given by careers teacher)	100	100	100	100
Bases (1) no. of boys, reweighted	165	358	1017	1541
Bases (2) no. of schools	26	14	49	89

(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT

WHETHER PUPILS IN BOY'S YEAR ATTENDED C.O. TALK (ACCORDING TO CAREERS TEACHER)	Wholly or mainly GCE[o]	Wholly or mainly CSE[+]	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
Yes, attended	26	43	73	61
No, did not attend	74	57	27	39
TOTAL (all boys for whom usable information was given by careers teacher)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	140	377	1023	1541

[o] Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

[+] Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

Our only evidence on the degree of exposure of boys in our sample to such talks comes from the interviews with careers teachers at sampled schools. The teachers were asked what official contacts boys in each school year had with the YES (apart from careers conventions and other special functions, which were covered by other questions - see Section 9.6(i) and (j) above). Talks given by Careers Officers to groups of pupils were frequently mentioned in the replies. The information so obtained was transferred to the records of individual sample boys who had been members of the school years referred to by the teachers. At a number of schools where the head teacher was the sole careers teacher detailed questions about contacts with the YES were amongst those omitted in order to avoid making excessive interview demands upon a single individual and for this and various other reasons information is lacking for about 10% of the total sample of boys. These cases have been excluded from Tables 10.5.

From the Total column of the tables it can be seen that, according to their teachers, about 61% of the boys had attended a talk given by a Careers Officer. This compares with the teachers' figure of 94% of leavers whom they expected to be personally interviewed by a Careers Officer. We have seen that the latter was probably something of an exaggeration and the same applies to the estimated proportion of boys who attended CO talks, bearing in mind that absences from school and other special circumstances almost always produce a gap between theory and practice in such cases.

The figures in the body of the tables show that there were marked differences in the degree of exposure of pupils at different types of school and at different academic levels to CO talks. The great majority of pupils at comprehensives (88%) and of non-examination candidates (i.e. 15-year-old leavers) evidently attended talks, as compared with only 30% of grammar and technical school pupils and 26% of GCE candidates. More refined cross-analyses (not shown here) proved that exposure to talks was related to school type even with academic level held constant. Thus 91% of 15-year-old leavers from comprehensive schools, as against only 59% of early leavers from secondary moderns, were said to attend talks. It seems, therefore, that both general school policy and organization and the academic level and type of syllabus pursued by the boys concerned affected their chances of attending careers talks given by members of the YES.

10.3 School-leavers' subjective reactions to contact with the Youth Employment Service

As indicated in Chapter I, a major aim of the present longitudinal study, taken as a whole, is to evaluate in an objective way the effects upon school-leavers of contacts with the YES. When analysis using data from all three stages of the enquiry becomes possible, we shall seek to identify groups of boys differing in their degree of exposure to the efforts of the YES, or in their response to those efforts, and to compare these groups in terms of such criteria as the level of satisfaction or stability subsequently attained in employment.

At present we are not in a position to attempt such an analysis, since data from Stage I only are to hand. However, it has seemed worthwhile to make some examination of the boys' subjective, short-term reactions to such contacts with the YES as they had experienced up to Stage I. Too much weight should not be placed upon the results of this analysis, based as it is upon the "off the cuff" replies of youngsters with no real experience of the world of work. On the other hand, it can be argued that, where an optional service is being offered, the initial reactions of prospective clients may have an important bearing upon their subsequent willingness to make use of the service.

Even when the objective in mind is this fairly limited one, it must be admitted at the outset that a large-scale survey of a heterogeneous sample of school-leavers is a very blunt instrument for the purpose. All that can really be attempted is to produce a broad, generalized measure of subjective reaction to whatever efforts at guidance etc. happened to have been made. There is thus no question, for example, of our being able to examine and evaluate the effects of different approaches or techniques of vocational guidance. Indeed, even the gross amount of Careers Officer's time devoted to each individual can only be controlled for in an extremely rough way.

The general approach adopted has been to draw together the favourable or unfavourable references which many boys made to the Careers Officer or the YES in the course of the Stage I interview, so as to form a general scale or index of their overall reaction. Most of these references naturally occurred in the section of the interview in which the boy was directly asked about his dealings with the Careers Officer, but there were also certain points at which some boys referred spontaneously to help which they had received from members of the YES. From each set of answers in which a significant number of references to the YES occurred, a simple "Yes/No" variable was constructed and these variables were then subjected to correlational analysis, to determine whether there was an underlying dimension of favourable or unfavourable attitude towards the Service. Some evidence for the presence of such a dimension was found and an index based upon selected items was constructed, though from a technical viewpoint this provided a less reliable measure than might have been hoped (see Appendix B). The items which were combined to form this index were as follows:

Q25/42 Boy said he had talked to or visited Careers Officer as a means of obtaining the type of job he was aiming at.

Q66 Boy said his (first) interview with a Careers Officer had turned out as expected (i.e. he was not disappointed).

Q67 Boy said his (first) interview with a Careers Officer had helped him.

Q68 Boy said he had spontaneously sought a second interview with a Careers Officer.

Q71 Boy said Careers Officer had been the most helpful of all the people who had helped or advised him about what to do on leaving school.

Each of the above responses was assigned a score of 1, so that the maximum possible score on the final index was 5 (indicating that the boys had found the Careers Officer very helpful) to 0 (implying that the boy had not found the Careers Officer helpful at all). We shall therefore refer to this measure as the Perceived Helpfulness of the Careers Officer (PHCO) scale.

Of the items listed as contributing to the scale, the last has some special

Table 10.6 Perceived Helpfulness of Careers Officer scale score, analysed by (a) type of school attended and (b) level of examinations sat

(a) TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

PHCO SCALE SCORE	Grammar/ Technical	Com- prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
	%	%	%	%
0	15	16	17	17
1	28	25	32	30
2	28	26	27	27
3-5	29 %	33 %	24 %	26 %
All boys interviewed by C.O.	100 75	100 90	100 91	100 89
Boys never interviewed by C.O.	25	10	9	11
Boys found C.O. most helpful of all	27	31	25	27
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	188	384	1154	1725

(b) LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT

PHCO SCALE SCORE	Wholly or mainly GCE°	Wholly or mainly CSE+	Neither GCE nor CSE	Total
	%	%	%	%
0	13	16	17	17
1	27	29	30	30
2	28	26	27	27
3-5	32 %	28 %	25 %	26 %
All boys interviewed by C.O.	100 76	100 93	100 89	100 89
Boys never interviewed by C.O.	24	7	11	11
Boys found C.O. most helpful of all	30	29	25	27
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	153	432	1141	1725

° Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat 5 or more subjects, including English and Mathematics, at "O" Level, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat at least one subject at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

significance and is worthy of attention in its own right. It is derived from answers to a question placed at the end of the Stage I schedule, after the various possible sources of careers help and advice had been exhaustively reviewed. The boy was asked to sum up his experiences to date by saying which one of all the people who had helped and advised him had been the most helpful. Since this is in the nature of an overall judgement, rather than a specific reaction, percentages of individuals endorsing the item, as well as distributions of scores over the PHCO scale as a whole, are given in certain of the tables which follow.

An unavoidable weakness of the scale as formed is that it properly applies only to boys who had been interviewed by a Careers Officer and thus had a chance of endorsing the second, third and fourth items listed. We have already seen (Table 10.1 above) that 11% of the boys had not had an interview; these are accordingly distinguished as a separate category in the tables, while scale distributions are calculated on the base of those who had had at least one interview.

The first point to be noted from the Total column of Tables 10.6 is that, even amongst those boys who had been interviewed by a Careers Officer, only 26% made scores of 3 or more out of a possible 5 on the scale. On the other hand, 17% and 30% respectively made scores of 0 or 1. This makes it appear that rather few boys had reacted at all favourably to the efforts of the YES, yet the bottom entry in the Total column shows that more than a quarter (27%) of the entire sample named the Careers Officer as the person who had been most helpful of all those who had given the boy help or advice. The explanation for this at first sight slightly anomalous pattern of results lies in the nature and derivation of the scale scores. Examination of the response to the separate items making up the scale showed that rates of endorsement were extremely uneven. For example, a majority of those boys who had been seen by a Careers Officer said that the interview had come up to their expectations and about half said that it had been positively helpful, but only about 1 in 6 said they had applied to the Careers Officer for help in obtaining a job of the type at which they were aiming and only 1 in 10 had asked for a further interview with a Careers Officer on their own initiative. Thus high scores on the scale could only be obtained by the minority of boys who not only reacted favourably to approaches made to them by the YES, but had actually made some positive use of the Service on their own account. On the other hand, scores of 2 or above, which were made by just over half the boys seen by a Careers Officer, can probably be taken as representing a broadly favourable attitude. The real truth of the matter is that the boys had low standards and expectations so far as careers help and advice were concerned, so that any person who they felt was making some effort to help them stood a good chance of being promoted to the top of their "helpfulness league table" (cf Table 9.13 and discussion).

Turning now to the main body of the tables, we find that there is very little difference in scale distributions as between pupils attending different types of secondary school, though favourable attitudes seem to be slightly more prevalent than average amongst leavers from comprehensive schools. GCE candidates scored rather higher on the scale than other boys, though again the effect is small and may well be due more to the fact that abler boys are more likely to make positive use of the service provided than to variations in the quality of the service as such. Perhaps the most striking aspect of these results is that, whereas, as shown in Tables 10.2,

Table 10.7 Perceived Helpfulness of Careers Officer scale score analysed by area of residence Table 10.7

	AREA										
PHCO SCALE SCORE	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
0	20	11	12	12	24	10	18	19	16	23	17
1	26	42	24	25	31	37	26	34	25	31	30
2	22	21	29	30	27	23	23	34	34	26	27
3–5	32	26	35	32	18	30	33	12	25	20	26
All boys interviewed by C.O.	100 % 86	100 % 86	100 % 92	100 % 81	100 % 85	100 % 88	100 % 91	100 % 91	100 % 94	100 % 92	100 % 89
Boys never interviewed by C.O.	14	14	8	19	15	12	9	9	6	8	11
TOTAL (all boys)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	188	158	204	157	148	173	160	202	160	176	1727

pupils at grammar and technical schools and GCE candidates were significantly less likely than others to have been seen by a Careers Officer, those who were seen reacted at least as favourably as other boys.

Table 10.7 shows distributions of scores on the PHCO scale analysed by sample area. It will be noted that there are some differences in the proportions of boys making relatively high scores on the scale, the extremes being 35% (Area 3) and 12% (Area 8). (As a rough guide, area differences of about 10% or more in the proportion of boys scoring 3-5 on the scale may be regarded as statistically significant). Comparison with Table 10.4 suggests that there may be some positive relationship between the proportion of boys seen twice or more by a Careers Officer in a given area and the proportion of boys showing a favourable opinion of the helpfulness of the Careers Officer in that area. However, this apparent correlation could quite easily be due to chance.

10.4 What took place during school-leaving interviews: (1) the boy's account

We have so far considered only certain very crude and simple indices of the amount of contact which had taken place between boys and Careers Officers and of the boy's overall reaction to such contact. However, the account of their first (or only) interview with a Careers Officer which was obtained from the boys in the course of our Stage I interviews makes it possible to go into rather more detail concerning what took place during this encounter.

It must be understood that the results to be presented below do not constitute a complete, accurate and unbiassed account of what actually took place during the boy's interview with a Careers Officer. Rather, they represent what the boy was able to recall about selected aspects of the interview, in some cases two or three months after the event. The account thus obtained must certainly be prone to mistakes, omissions and distortions of many kinds, caused, for example, by misunderstandings occurring during the careers interview itself, by selectivity of recall on the part of the boy and so on. However, the results are of some interest as showing the type of impression which the boys retained of their interview with a Careers Officer and, in particular, of what had been said about jobs. In the next section we shall consider the Careers Officer's account of his interview(s) with the boy.

It would probably be agreed by all concerned that the central (though not the only) purpose of school-leaving interviews as conducted by the YES is to discuss jobs or types or work, whether in the context of vocational guidance, provision of information or actual placement of clients in employment. Another basic assumption is that the interview should provide an opportunity for an exchange of views and ideas about jobs, with the youngster giving an account of his employment plans and ambitions and the Careers Officer commenting on these and (where appropriate) putting forward alternative suggestions of his own for the client to consider and comment on in his turn.

Our own Stage I interviews with those boys who had had a personal interview with a Careers Officer (89% of the total sample) included questions both on the role played by the boy himself and on that played by the Careers Officer. We therefore begin with a simple analysis which interrelates the replies given so as to show who, according to the boy's recollections, was responsible for putting forward any specific job-suggestions discussed in the course of the school-leaving interview. This analysis is presented in Table 10.8.

Table 10.8 Source of job-suggestions discussed at school-leaving interview, according to the boy

	WHETHER BOY MENTIONED JOB(S) TO C.O.		
WHETHER C.O. MENTIONED JOB(S) TO BOY	Yes	No	Total
Yes	31%	4%	35%
No	62%	3%	65%
TOTAL (cases where boy had had at least one interview with C.O.)	93%	7%	100%
Base (reweighted)			1531

The percentage entries in Table 10.8 are based upon the table grand total, which includes all boys interviewed by a Careers Officer. The very small proportions of boys who said that they could not remember whether or not they or the Careers Officer mentioned specific jobs at the interview have been assigned to the "no" categories.

The most obvious feature of this table is, of course, that whereas 93% of the boys recalled having mentioned one or more jobs to the Careers Officer, only 35% said that the Careers Officer had made any suggestions of his own. As a result, 62% of the interviews, according to the boys, revolved entirely around jobs which they themselves had suggested, while only 4% dealt entirely with jobs suggested by the Careers Officer. At just under a third of interviews ideas emanating from both parties were discussed and at 3% no specific jobs at all were discussed, so far as the boy could recall.

While these results certainly tell us something about the general form which school-leaving interviews took, they are difficult to interpret without knowing more about the content of the exchanges which took place between boy and Careers Officer. A little more detail of this kind is provided by Table 10.9.

The data upon which Table 10.9 is based were derived as follows. Those boys who said that they had mentioned particular jobs or types of work to the Careers Officer were asked to specify the nature of these jobs and to say what the Careers Officer's reaction had been in each case. At the analysis stage a check was made to see whether any of the jobs so specified was in the same CODOT category as the job at which the boy had said he was currently aiming (i.e. the job fixed up or the main job sought). This enabled us to produce the classification set out across the head of the

Table 10.9 Relationships between boys' and Careers Officers' suggestions and reactions during the school-leaving interview

	BOY'S SUGGESTIONS, CO'S REACTIONS				
CAREERS OFFICER'S SUGGESTIONS, BOY'S REACTIONS	C.O. approved job aimed at	C.O. disapproved job aimed at	Jobs mentioned, but C.O. reaction to job aimed at not known	Boy mentioned no jobs to C.O.	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Boy thought at least 1 job suggested by C.O. completely acceptable	7 (3)	3 (*)	10 (5)	24 (2)	(10)
Boy thought at least 1 job acceptable with qualifications	5 (2)	9 (*)	5 (2)	9 (1)	(5)
Boy thought no jobs suggested by C.O. acceptable	20 (8)	41 (2)	18 (8)	22 (2)	(20)
C.O. suggested no jobs to boy	68 (28)	48 (2)	67 (32)	45 (3)	(65)
TOTAL (all cases where boy had at least 1 interview with C.O.)	100 (41)	100 (5)	100 (48)	100 (7)	100
Bases (reweighted)	628	69	731	103	1531

table. It should be noted that the third category consists mainly of cases where the job aimed at was not amongst those mentioned to the Careers Officer, together with a few cases where the job was mentioned but the boy could not say what the Careers Officer's reaction had been.

Those boys who said that the Careers Officer had suggested jobs in the course of the interview were asked to say what their own reaction had been to each job suggested. This yields the classification set out at the side of the table.

Cell entries have been percentaged in two different ways. The unbracketed percentages are based upon column totals, while the bracketed percentages are based upon the table grand total. Let us begin by considering the bracketed entries in the Total row and the Total column.

As already shown in Table 10.8, some 93% of the boys claimed to have mentioned to the Careers Officer one or more specific jobs or types of work in which they were interested. Of these, 41% said that they had mentioned the job at which they were currently aiming and that the Careers Officer had approved their choice. Only 5% said that the Careers Officer had advised against a job at which they were nevertheless still aiming. However, as many as 48% - almost half of all those who had been interviewed by a Careers Officer - had no idea what the latter's opinion was of the job at which they were currently aiming. In the vast majority of these cases the reason was apparently that the idea of taking this job had simply not occurred to them until after the school-leaving interview had taken place.

Turning now to the bracketed percentages in the Total column, it will be seen that, of the 35% of boys who had received suggestions from the Careers Officer in the course of the interview, 15% had thought one or more of the jobs suggested either completely acceptable or acceptable with qualifications (the usual qualification being that they would consider the job suggested only if they failed to obtain some preferred job). However, 20% found none of the Careers Officer's suggestions at all acceptable.

The bracketed percentages in the body of the table show that at 28% of interviews the Careers Officer had approved the job at which the boy was still aiming by the time of our Stage I, without making any alternative suggestions of his own. At 32% of interviews the Careers Officer had approved one or other of the boy's suggestions without making alternative suggestions, but by Stage I the boy himself was aiming at some other job, the Careers Officer's opinion of which was not known. At 8% of interviews both boy and Careers Officer had made suggestions and the Careers Officer had endorsed the job aimed at, though the boy had not reacted favourably to any of the Careers Officer's alternatives. At a further 8% of interviews the Careers Officer had endorsed a job or jobs in which the boy had subsequently lost interest, but his own suggestions had been rejected by the boy. These four types account for some 76% of the cases classified in the table.

The unbracketed entries in the table draw attention to several further points. It is not surprising that unqualified acceptance of the Careers Officer's suggestions was most common amongst those boys who had no specific ideas of their own, though even there the proportion is only 24%. On the other hand, amongst those boys whose own preference was not approved by the Careers Officer, 41% in turn rejected the Careers Officer's counter-suggestions. It seems rather odd that in a further 48% of these cases no counter-suggestion was apparently made, but the truth may be rather that the boys closed their minds to the Careers Officer's suggestions, once the latter had rejected the job of their own preference.

The main conclusions which seem to emerge from these analyses are: (a) that a high proportion (62%) of interviews revolved entirely around job-suggestions put forward by the boy; (b) that whereas in many of these cases the Careers Officer approved one or more of the boy's choices, the usefulness of the discussion was partially nullified in 32% out of 62% of cases by the fact that, by the time of our Stage I interview, the boy had decided to aim at some other job not mentioned at the school-leaving interview; and (c) that, even on the most liberal assumptions, the proportion of boys who fully accepted a job suggestion put forward by the Careers Officer which did not coincide with their own prior choice cannot have exceeded 7%. (At another point in the Stage I interview about 6% of the boys said that they had first heard of the job at which they were aiming through the Careers Officer).

In interpreting such results, it is important to remember that the above analysis related only to one limited aspect of the school-leaving interview, namely, exchanges between boy and Careers Officer concerning specific jobs, occupations or types of work. In most cases, of course, such exchanges are likely to have played an important part in the giving and receiving of vocational guidance or assistance, but equally, there are many other ways in which careers help may be offered and accepted in the course of an interview. Unfortunately, most of these other aspects of the interview are extremely difficult to "pin down" and quantify in terms of survey data collected weeks or months after the event, yet their influence may often be crucial.

For example, most Careers Officers would probably see it as a key part of their role to educate school-leavers in effective ways of thinking about careers (e.g. self-assessment, exercise of decision skills etc.) rather than simply to "spoon feed" them with specific job-suggestions or "yes/no" verdicts on suggestions put forward by the youngsters themselves. That this kind of help was both proffered in the course of many interviews and favourably received by many of the boys is suggested by the answers given to a question about ways in which they had found the school-leaving interview helpful. Many answers referred, of course, to help with placement or to information about specific jobs or types of work, but others stressed the way in which the Careers Officer had helped the boy to think more clearly about his own interests and preferences in relation to careers opportunities. There were also many more general (or less articulate) comments such as; "He helped me to make up my mind", "He encouraged me to think for myself", "He gave me confidence to go and look for a job I wanted" and so on.

10.5 What took place during school-leaving interviews: (2) the Careers Officer's account

Our interest in the transactions which took place at school-leaving interviews between sample boys and Careers Officers has aims going beyond that of simple description. Assuming that a reasonably accurate and objective record of these transactions can be obtained, it is intended to set up a criterion according to which the jobs actually entered by the boys after leaving school can be classified as compatible or incompatible with the Careers Officer's recommendations or suggestions. The progress in employment of boys entering "approved" and "non-approved" jobs will then be compared (with other relevant factors held constant).

It was felt that, for the purpose of setting up a criterion of the kind just described, the boys' own accounts of what had occurred at their school-leaving interviews might prove unreliable and deficient in certain respects.

In particular, it was suspected that they might tend, for various reasons, to forget, suppress, distort or misinterpret what the Careers Officer had said. For this reason we decided to try to obtain a second, "official" account of what had taken place during the school-leaving interview by approaching the Careers Officer who had conducted the interview in each case. The assumption here was that these officers would have available a written record of what had been said - or, at least, of certain key details - and that they would in some cases be able to supplement this from their personal recollection of the interviews concerned. We accordingly propose to accept the Careers Officer's version of what he himself said - or, at any rate, intended to convey - at the school-leaving interview or interviews. However, the information supplied by the boys themselves, as analysed in the preceding sections, constitutes our best evidence concerning the immediate effect produced upon the client by school-leaving interviews and by the ministrations of the YES in general.

Since data on the jobs actually entered by sample boys are not yet to hand, nothing can be said in this report about the application of the criterion measure described above, or about the progress and characteristics of boys entering "approved" or "non-approved" jobs respectively. However, a prior issue which can usefully be raised at this point is, to what extent boys' and Careers Officers' versions of the suggestions, recommendations etc. concerning employment made at the school-leaving interview actually agreed with one another. If, by the time of school-leaving, the boys' impressions of what the Careers Officer had said had already become distorted for one reason or another, this would obviously limit the extent to which advice given by the latter could influence their employment decisions and careers in the way intended. It is therefore of considerable importance to determine whether, at Stage I, the boys retained an accurate impression of the Careers Officer's views concerning their future employment, as expressed at the school-leaving interview.

In order to make this check, we ideally need to compare some suitably summarized version of each boy's key impressions of what took place during the interview, with a corresponding summary of the Careers Officer's impressions. Unfortunately, there are a number of technical problems which prevent us from carrying out this comparison with as much precision and detail as one might wish. The main difficulty is that the obtaining of data on individual cases from Careers Officers was organized as a separate operation from the interviewing of the boys themselves. As a result, there was often a gap of days or weeks between our contact with the Careers Officer and our contact with the boy. Since the Stage I field operations as a whole took place during a period of relatively intensive communication between school-leavers and members of the YES, it often turned out that Careers Officers had interviewed or re-interviewed a sample boy during the period which had elapsed since our own contact with that boy. Discrepancies of the same type also arose in cases where the Careers Officer happened to be seen some time before the boy. In addition, as explained in Section 1.4, it was not possible to obtain information from Careers Officers concerning their interviews with about 7% of the boys. The net result is that the set of boy-Careers Officer contacts referred to in the boys' responses at Stage I does not have any complete, one-to-one correspondence with the set of contacts referred to in the Careers Officers' responses. This circumstance confounds any attempt to compare the two accounts of the school-leaving interview(s) in individual cases. On the other hand, both accounts may be taken as referring to representative and roughly contemporaneous sets of contacts, so that overall distributions based on the two accounts may legitimately be compared.

A second technical problem arises from the fact that, in order to relate Careers Officers' accounts of the school-leaving interview to boys' accounts of their employment aims (as at Stage I), it is necessary to reconcile job-titles or definitions formulated by two different individuals. At first sight there might appear to be rather little scope for ambiguity over something as specific as a job, but it must be remembered that much of the discussion at school-leaving interviews was about more or less broadly defined "types of work", rather than about specific and narrowly-defined "jobs". Real doubt could therefore arise as to whether the boy's job was or was not within the range of those approved (or disapproved) by the Careers Officer. It has nevertheless been thought necessary to attempt such a reconciliation for the purposes of the comparison presented below.

Table 10.10 Overall comparison of boys' and Careers Officers' accounts of transactions concerning the job aimed at at Stage I

REPORTED TRANSACTIONS CONCERNING JOB AIMED AT	BOY'S VERSION	C.O.'s VERSION
	%	%
Boy mentioned job aimed at, C.O. thought it suitable	41	36
Boy mentioned job aimed at, C.O. thought it unsuitable	5	11
Boy fully accepted suggestion from C.O. not coinciding with his own prior choice	7	6
Boy unable to specify job aimed at (at survey interview)	3	3
All other cases (job aimed at not mentioned at careers interview, or C.O.'s views not made clear)	45	45
TOTALS (all cases where careers interview reported)	100	100
Bases (reweighted)	1531	1481

Table 10.10 compares two versions, derived from boys' and Careers Officers' accounts respectively, of transactions concerning the job aimed at which took place during the careers interview. The distribution on the left is based upon all cases where the boy gave an account of one or more school-leaving interviews; the distribution on the right was obtained by relating the boy's description of the job at which he was aiming (i.e. at the time of the Stage I interview) to the Careers Officer's account of jobs which he had approved, advised against or suggested in the course of the school-leaving interview(s). As explained above, the sets of careers interviews referred to are overlapping, but not identical, for the two distributions.

Bearing in mind their different sources and the different methods by which they were derived, the most striking thing about the two distributions is their similarity. It is true that, compared with the Careers Officers, boys tended to claim rather more often that the job at which they were currently aiming had been approved and to admit rather less often that it had been judged unsuitable. However, we had been prepared to find a much larger discrepancy of this kind, given the propensity of human beings to ignore or forget communications which run counter to their own inclinations. It is interesting to find the two estimates of the proportion of boys who accepted job-suggestions made by the Careers Officer so closely in agreement. This confirms the finding, noted in the last section, that something like six times as many jobs are proposed by the boy and approved by the Careers Officer, as are proposed by the Careers Officer and accepted by the boy.

However, perhaps the most significant finding from the point of view of our proposal to divide jobs entered into "approved" and "non-approved" categories, is that both distributions show 45% of boys aiming at jobs which they had apparently never discussed with the Careers Officer. There is thus no means of telling whether or not the jobs at which these boys were aiming would or would not have been approved. All that can be said on the evidence is that the boys changed their occupational intentions fairly radically at some stage after the school-leaving interview had taken place, though not on the basis of any suggestion made at that interview. However, there is at least an implication that these individuals had failed to develop any consistent or well-thought-out occupational aims either before or during the school-leaving interview, so that their contributions to the interview tended to be random or superficial. If so, the existence of this situation prompts one to question the value of school-leaving interviews as a means of helping such ill-prepared youngsters. We shall be returning to this issue in a later report, when we come to consider the relationship between transactions at school-leaving interviews and the jobs actually entered by boys in the sample.

10.6 Summary

1. In fulfilling its careers guidance responsibility, the YES gives high priority to ensuring that boys of the type included in our sample have at least one personal interview with a Careers Officer, before they leave school to enter employment. In addition, it aims to give school-leavers general advice and instruction on how to choose a job or a career, usually through the medium of talks delivered to groups of pupils. There are, of course, many other ways in which school-leavers can and do come into contact with Careers Officers, but interviews and talks of the kind described usually form the basic core of the service provided for youngsters before they leave school. A number of questions in the Boys' Stage I schedule, the Careers Teachers' schedule and the Careers Officers' Assessments were accordingly designed to study the coverage and effects of these two forms of contact.

2. Virtually all the boys in the sample had heard of someone called the Careers Officer (or Youth Employment Officer), but 11% said that they had not yet had an interview with a Careers Officer. The proportion not yet seen was highest among pupils at grammar and technical schools

and GCE candidates. One reason for this appeared to be that a relatively high proportion of GCE candidates left school during the autumn and winter of 1968, rather than at the "normal" leaving dates in the summer or at Easter, and thus tended to be missed by an interviewing system geared to these dates. Of the remaining 89%, 55% had had one interview and 34% two or more interviews with a Careers Officer. Second interviews were much more common in some sample areas than in others and were sought by the boy on his own initiative in only about 10% of cases. This suggests that the variation was mainly due to differences between area Youth Employment Services in the interviewing policy pursued.

3. According to careers teachers, some 61% of the boys in the sample should have attended a talk given by a Careers Officer to a group of pupils. This may well be an overestimate of the number of boys who had actually attended such talks. Pupils at comprehensives and 15-year-old leavers were most likely to be exposed to talks (88% and 73% respectively) and pupils at grammar and technical schools and GCE candidates least likely (30% and 26%).

4. Prospective clients' willingness to make use of facilities provided by the YES are likely to be affected by their subjective reaction to initial contacts with a Careers Officer. A scale was therefore constructed to measure such reactions, using data from the boys' Stage I interviews, and labelled Perceived Helpfulness of the Careers Officer (PHCO). Scale scores could not meaningfully be computed for the 11% of the sample who had not yet had a personal interview with a Careers Officer. Interpretation of scores indicated that just over half the boys seen by a Careers Officer had reacted in a broadly favourable way, but that relatively few had been inspired to take the initiative in making positive use of the service offered (e.g. by seeking a further interview). Some 27% of the sample said that they had found the Careers Officer the most helpful of those who had helped or advised them, but this is partly a reflection of the boys' low standards and expectations so far as careers guidance is concerned. PHCO scores varied little with school type or academic level, but there were some statistically significant differences in the distribution of scores as between sample areas.

5. In view of the important role assigned to school-leaving interviews between boys and Careers Officers, some attempt was made to analyse the form and content of these encounters, using evidence supplied by the participants. From the boys' answers it appeared that they themselves had mentioned jobs or types of work in which they were interested to the Careers Officer in 93% of cases, but that the Careers Officer had made job suggestions of his own in only 35% of cases. At 62% of interviews only jobs suggested by the boy himself had been discussed, while at 31% both parties had put forward suggestions. There seemed to have been only 4% of interviews where the job suggestions had all come from the Careers Officer.

6. A more elaborate analysis suggested that 41% of boys had mentioned in the course of the school-leaving interview(s) the job at which they were still aiming at Stage I, and had had it approved by the Careers Officer. In only 5% of cases was the boy still aiming at a job which had been disapproved by the Careers Officer. However, by Stage I 45%

of the boys were apparently aiming at a job different from any of those mentioned to the Careers Officer, even though in 32% of cases the latter had approved one or more of these jobs. In all, 10% of boys who had had a school-leaving interview had found one or more jobs suggested by the Careers Officer wholly acceptable, whereas 20% had rejected all the Careers Officer's suggestions. On the other hand, there was evidence that many boys felt that they had benefitted from the interview in less tangible ways, such as increased self-confidence and clarity in thinking about careers choice. In addition, of course, many expressed appreciation of help with careers information or placement in employment.

7. It was suspected that the boy's report of the Careers Officer's reaction to particular job suggestions might be unreliable as an indication of what the officer's views and recommendations actually were. Since a reliable measure was required in order to determine at later stages of the enquiry whether particular jobs actually entered by the boy were "approved" or "non-approved", it was decided to ask Careers Officers for their version of what had occurred at school-leaving interviews. For technical reasons it was not feasible to carry out a case-by-case comparison of boys' and Careers Officers' reports, but the two sets of data could be classified in a corresponding way and overall distributions legitimately compared. On this basis a surprisingly close correspondence was found. As might be expected, the boys tended to claim rather more often that the job at which they were currently aiming had been approved and to admit rather less often that it had been judged unsuitable by the Careers Officer, but the discrepancy was not very large. The evidence from Careers Officers seemed to confirm that about six times as many jobs are proposed by the boy and approved by the Careers Officer, as are proposed by the Careers Officer and accepted by the boy. Equally importantly, both distributions of answers showed that some 45% of the boys were, by the time of the Stage I interview, aiming at jobs which they had never discussed with a Careers Officer. There are grounds for suspecting that many of these boys were ill-prepared for a serious and realistic discussion of career plans at the time of the school-leaving interview and that the Careers Officer's efforts were to some extent wasted in such cases.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE SAMPLE OF SCHOOL-LEAVERS

A.1. Sample requirements as determined by the aims of the research

As explained in Chapter I, the central population to be sampled in this study consisted of boys leaving from the fourth and fifth year classes of secondary schools in England and Wales, during the year commencing at the beginning of the Summer term 1968 and ending at the Easter holiday 1969. This definition was extended to include the small proportion of pupils who stayed on for a term or so beyond the end of their fifth year in July 1968, usually in order to resit GCE "O" Level examinations. On the other hand, boys who proposed to continue their full-time education elsewhere beyond September 1969 were excluded. (In practice, the few cases in this category were filtered out at the interview stage).

Subsidiary samples of parents, teachers and Careers Officers were also required at Stage I, but the composition of these samples was determined by that of the main sample of school-leavers, as explained in Section 1.4. Only the response rates achieved will therefore be discussed in the Appendix.

Ideally, we would have liked to obtain a sample which was both nationally representative in statistical terms and clustered geographically in such a way as to permit the effects of different areas as employment environments to be compared. However, this would have required a much larger sample size than the available resources allowed, so that in practice it was necessary to choose between a thinly spread, nationally representative sample and a sample clustered within a relatively small number of areas which was not nationally representative in the full statistical sense. Having regard for the aims of the study and the type of analysis contemplated, the latter alternative was chosen. (However, a number of post hoc checks suggested that the sample finally obtained was not unrepresentative of the national picture in a number of important respects - see Chapters II and III).

A practical problem which arises when a representative sample of leavers from particular school cohorts is required is that youngsters may (and do) choose to leave school at different times of year. The majority, of course, leave more or less at the end of the school academic year in July, but at the time when the sample was drawn a significant minority of 15-year-olds left at the end of the Easter term, while smaller numbers of 16-year-olds left during the winter. This presented us with difficulties both in the identification of the sample and in the co-ordination of sampling and field work.

Since a sample of leavers was required, it was necessary to identify in advance those boys who were likely to leave school during the sampling period. In practice, this can only be done through the schools and a second stage sample of secondary schools therefore had to be drawn within the selected areas. However, even given the co-operation of the schools, it is not possible to identify prospective leavers with any certainty a year or more in advance. On the other hand, retrospective identification of leavers at the end of the sampling period was not acceptable, since our aim was to interview the boys for the first time at or just before the point of leaving school. Since interviewers could not be permanently stationed in the sampled schools so as to catch pupils as they left, some compromise arrangement had to be arrived at. This was achieved by organizing the Stage I interviews in two phases, one to take place in June-July 1968 and the other in March-April 1969, which coincided with the two main school-leaving periods and enabled us to see the vast majority of the boys at or about the date of school-leaving. The process of identifying the eligible population within schools and drawing the sample was similarly arranged in two phases, to precede the interviewing by 6-8 weeks in each case. The selected schools were thus asked to provide lists of prospective leavers in the relevant categories in April-May of 1968 and again in January-February 1969, and from these lists the sample of leavers was drawn.

A large majority of the population to be sampled consisted of boys leaving school during or at the end of their fourth year of secondary education, without having sat any examinations at GCE "O" Level or CSE. If the sample of leavers had been drawn on a simple random basis from the lists provided by the schools, the various types of fifth year leaver (e.g. those who had sat wholly or mainly GCE "O" Level examinations, those who had sat wholly or mainly CSE examinations etc.) would have been represented by small numbers only. Since it was proposed to distinguish and compare sub-groups of this kind at the analysis stage, it was judged more efficient to draw a weighted random sample of leavers, such that the better-qualified boys were over-represented and the less well-qualified boys under-represented relative to one another. This ensured adequate numbers for between- and within-sub-group analyses, while at the same time permitting figures representative of the school population sampled to be calculated by using appropriate reweighting factors.

To sum up then: the aims of the research were deemed to require a sample of boy school-leavers aged 15-16, clustered within a relatively small number of areas considered as "employment environments". Within the selected areas prospective leavers were to be identified and sampled via a second-stage sample of secondary schools. The interviewing, and hence the sampling process, was to be arranged in two phases, geared to the two main school-leaving dates falling within the sampling period. The final sample of school-leavers was to be weighted so as to over-represent the better-qualified fifth year leavers relative to the fourth year leavers who formed the majority of the population.

A.2 The sample design

The sample was of a three stage stratified cluster design, the first stage being a non-random selection of areas, the second stage a systematic random sample of schools and the third stage a systematic sample of boy school-leavers aged 15 and 16 (i.e. from the fourth and fifth year classes of secondary schools). At the third stage, account had to be taken of different times of leaving school, by dealing separately with those leaving by the end of the Summer term 1968 and those leaving between Summer 1968 and Easter 1969, respectively.

The sample was to consist of approximately 1700-1800 boys aged 15 or 16 years, who left school to enter employment during either of the above periods. Of these, approximately 1250 were to be "Summer" leavers and the remainder "Easter" leavers, so as to reflect the national ratio.

A.3 Sampling frames

For the selection of first stage units, the sampling frame consisted of all the Department of Employment Local Office Areas in England and Wales.

Within selected areas the sampling frame for the second stage units consisted of all "boys only" and mixed sex secondary schools. (Both maintained and direct grant schools were included in the frame, but see also Section 5(b) below).

Within the selected schools the sampling frame consisted of all boys aged 15 or 16 years who were designated as likely to leave school to enter employment during the periods April-July 1968 or September 1968-April 1969. Lists of boys in these categories were obtained from the schools.

A.4 The sample of first stage units (areas)

(a) Stratification

The DE Local Office Areas comprising the sampling frame were stratified by region and by the percentage of males employed in Secondary (manufacturing) industries. This latter was selected as being the most useful stratification factor out of a number which were examined, using unpublished DE data. The required values were calculated using the DE E.R.II monthly returns for June 1966. The distribution of the Office Areas (or groups of such areas, where DE makes no distinction) within cells defined by the two stratification factors is shown in Table 1.

Table A1 Distribution of primary sampling units by region and by percentage of males employed in secondary industries

	% OF MALES IN SECONDARY INDUSTRIES			
REGION	0-24.99%	25-49.99%	50-100%	Total
Wales	55	30	15	100
South West	40	31	10	81
East Anglia	15	20	2	37
East Midlands	11	21	15	47
West Midlands	10	17	33	60
Yorks. & Humberside	22	17	23	62
North West	10	26	61	97
North	31	26	14	71
South East (excluding Greater London*)	32	64	35	131

* Corresponding figures for Greater London were not available.

(b) Selection

The method of selecting areas was heavily constrained by the requirement that the final sample of school-leavers be so distributed as to allow statistically meaningful comparisons to be made between area sub-samples. In practice, this meant that no more than about 8-12 areas could be selected and it was evident that the method of selection would have to be purposive to some extent. After consideration, it was decided that one area should be selected from each of the nine regions shown in Table 1 and one from Greater London.

In selecting areas (or clusters of areas - see below) within region, account was taken both of the second main stratification factor (percentage of males employed in Secondary industries) shown in Table 1 and of certain other features of the male employment structure of the areas, the aim in each case being to select an area which was as far as possible "typical" of its region. The area characteristics designated as "typical" of each region are shown in Table 2.

Table A2 Selection criteria for "typical" areas within region

REGION	"Typical" percentage of males employed in Secondary industries	"Typical" percentage of males employed in Primary or Tertiary industries
Wales	0-24%	50% or over in Primary
South West	25-49%	50% or over in Tertiary
East Anglia	25-49%	0-24% in Primary
East Midlands	25-49%	25-49% in Primary 25-49% in Tertiary
West Midlands	25-49%	50% or over in Tertiary
Yorks. & Humberside	0-24%	50% or over in Primary
North West	50% or over	25-49% in Tertiary
North	25-49%	50% or over in Tertiary
South East	25-49%	50% or over in Tertiary

Where clusters of DE Office Areas were taken as first stage units, the areas comprising a given cluster had also to satisfy the following criteria:

(1) be geographically adjacent;

(2) have similar employment structures;

(3) be of sufficient size when combined to yield the required number of second and third stage units.

The areas, or clusters of areas, within regions which satisfied all the above criteria were listed and one area was selected at random from each of the nine regions of which details are given in Table 1. In Greater London, as already mentioned, no area employment details were available. A selection was therefore made by listing the Greater London Boroughs and picking one at random.

A.5 The sample of second stage units (schools)

(a) Stratification

Once the first stage units had been selected, the Local Education Authorities responsible for the areas concerned were identified and contacted with a view to obtaining (a) permission to conduct the enquiry within their schools and (b) a list of all the "boys only" and mixed secondary schools in their area. Permission was granted and the required information provided in all cases.

When information had been received from all the Local Education Authorities concerned with each of the ten first stage units, the schools contained in each area were stratified by type into the following groups:

Grammar	(i)	Boys only
	(ii)	Mixed
Secondary Technical	(i)	Boys only
	(ii)	Mixed
Comprehensive	(i)	Boys only
	(ii)	Mixed
Secondary Modern	(i)	Boys only
	(ii)	Mixed
Direct Grant	(i)	Boys only
	(ii)	Mixed

(b) Selection

Within each stratum the schools were listed in decreasing order of size

Table A3 Distribution of second stage units (schools) by type and area

	TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL					
LOCATION OF AREA	Grammar	Secondary Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary Modern	Direct Grant	Total
Wales	3	1	0	6	0	10
South West	3	1	1	4	1	10
East Anglia	2	0	0	8	0	10
East Midlands	3	0	0	8	0	11
West Midlands	2	0	0	7	1	10
Yorks. & Humberside	2	1	2	5	0	10
North West	2	1	0	8	0	11
North	1	1	4	3	1	10
South East	5	0	0	5	0	10
Greater London ..	0	0	9	2	0	11
TOTAL	23	5	16	56	3	103

(i.e. number of pupils) and were sampled randomly, using differential sampling fractions as between strata. The sampling fractions were chosen with a view (a) to producing a sample of schools which would "yield" sufficient numbers of boy leavers at all academic levels in which we were interested and (b) to obtaining a roughly equal number of schools within each area. The distribution of second stage units so selected is shown in Table 3.

Each of the schools selected was contacted and asked to co-operate in the study along the lines described in the next section. Of the original 103, six were unwilling to participate. Of these, two were replaced by other schools of the same type and from within the same areas, giving a total of 99 schools which supplied the initial sampling information. On inspection of the returns it was found that three of these schools were likely to produce virtually no leavers in the categories in which we were interested (because almost all pupils stayed on into the sixth form). In order to avoid waste of field resources, it was decided to exclude these schools from the sample, leaving a final total of 96 participating schools. As a result of these adjustments, all the Direct Grant schools originally included were eliminated from the sample, which then consisted of 22 grammar schools, 5 secondary technical schools, 15 comprehensive schools and 54 secondary moderns.

A.6 The sample of final stage units (school-leavers)

As explained in Section 1, both field work and sampling had to be organized in two phases, in order to ensure that boys leaving school throughout the academic year were adequately covered by the enquiry. Essentially the same sampling procedure was followed at each phase, with two separate approaches to the schools being made in the spring of 1968 and at the beginning of 1969 respectively. The account which follows applies to both phases, except where attention is specifically drawn to variations in the method used.

(a) Stratification

Each selected school was asked to provide information about all fourth and fifth year (15 and 16-year-old) boy pupils who were expected to leave school by the end of a specified term (Summer 1968 and Easter 1969 respectively) in order to enter employment. The information requested for each boy included:

(1) his name

(2) the name of his school class

(3) the academic level of his class (see below)

(4) the name and address of a parent or guardian

The academic level of the class was treated as a surrogate for that of the boy himself, since this could not be determined for each boy individually at the sampling stage. The information given enabled most classes, and thus most boys, to be assigned to one of three sampling strata, namely:

(1) Those where all or most pupils were sitting GCE "O")
Level examinations during the current academic year)
(2) Those where less than half the pupils were sitting)) Fifth year classes*
"O" Levels and/or some were sitting subjects at CSE)

(3) Those where no pupils were sitting either GCE or CSE examinations. (In practice, these were virtually all fourth year classes)

There were a few cases where the academic level of fifth year classes could not be specified because the school did not distinguish pupils into set academic "streams". For purposes of sample selection, boys from these classes were treated like those assigned to Stratum (1).

(b) Selection

In selecting school-leavers, the aim was to produce a combined "Summer plus Easter" sample which would comprise about 1700-1800 boys, divided roughly equally between those who had just sat examinations wholly or mainly at GCE "O" Level, those who had sat examinations wholly or mainly at CSE and those who had left without sitting either GCE or CSE examinations. The strata into which the population of prospective leavers listed by the schools had been divided corresponded very roughly to these categories.

A problem of the two-phase sampling method was that the population had been only partially enumerated by the time the sub-sample of summer leavers came to be drawn and it was not yet known what the exact size and composition of the Easter leavers segment of the population would be. It was therefore necessary to estimate these parameters from available educational statistics.

From national figures it seemed likely that the overall proportion of Summer to Easter leavers within our population would be about 7:3 and it was therefore decided to select a total of about 1250 boys at the Summer phase. As regards the relative composition of the two segments of the population, it was known that CSE candidates tended to leave during the Summer term, whereas the Easter segment was likely to be dominated by fourth year leavers, but accurate estimates of the numbers involved were impossible to obtain.

Because of uncertainties on this count and also as regards the degree of correspondence between sample stratum and individual academic level, an element of guesswork was involved in the selection of sampling fractions within area and stratum at the Summer phase. However, the general aims were:

(1) to select a roughly equal number of leavers (about 125) in each area and
(2) to select a rather greater proportion of fifth year than of fourth year leavers, in anticipation of a weighting in the opposite direction at the Easter phase.

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* It was subsequently discovered that some of the schools had misunderstood the instructions for specifying the academic level of classes, with the result that some fourth year classes were mistakenly assigned to Strata (1) and (2). Because of this, more fourth year leavers were selected than had originally been intended. However, the error was not too damaging, since the exact distribution of the sample as between strata was not crucial.

The method of selection within area and stratum was random throughout.

The actual distribution of eligible final stage units at the Summer phase was affected by two unforeseen factors. The first of these was that the proportion of the population falling into Stratum (2) proved to be considerably lower than anticipated in certain areas. This imposed some constraints on the proportion of leavers in this stratum who could be selected in those areas. The second unforeseen factor was that, when the boys originally selected were contacted by interviewers, an unexpectedly high proportion of them (13%) said that they now proposed to stay on in school for another year or (in a few cases) that they intended to go on to full-time further education. This rendered them ineligible for our sample. The reason for this high rate of ineligibility seems to have been partly that some schools were rather lax in compiling their lists of prospective leavers and so included some boys who never intended to leave, and partly that some boys genuinely changed their minds about leaving during the period between the compilation of the sampling frame and the survey interview.

In view of this shortfall in eligible sample members, it was thought necessary to draw a supplementary sample of Summer leavers in order to bring the sample size up to the level originally intended. This was done by making fresh selections from the original lists of prospective Summer leavers. As the rate of ineligibility varied considerably as between strata and areas, each stratum within each area was considered separately for purposes of supplementation and new sampling fractions were chosen. In principle, however, the supplementation exercise did not affect the basic sample design (though it did cause additional problems at the field work stage - see Chapter I).

At the Easter sampling phase the sub-population to be sampled consisted of boys who had left, or were expected to leave, the selected schools between the beginning of the Autumn term 1968 and the end of the Easter term 1969, inclusive. The general method of sampling final stage units was as for the main Summer sample, due allowance having been made on this occasion for the expected rate of ineligibility. Sampling fractions within area and stratum were readjusted with a view to producing an overall sample distribution as close as possible to that defined at the beginning of this sub-section.

Table 4 shows the overall distribution of final stage units sampled at the Summer (main and supplementary) and Easter phases. It will be noticed that the grand total (2087) considerably exceeds the target of 1700-1800 cases; this is because the totals include a proportion of ineligible cases at each phase (see above). It will also be noted that the area totals vary considerably; this is due partly to inter-area variations in the rate of ineligibility and partly to the difficulty of finding sufficient cases in Stratum (2) in some areas.

Table A4 Distribution of all final stage units selected at the Summer and Easter sampling phases, by area and sampling stratum

SAMPLING STRATUM (ACADEMIC LEVEL OF BOY'S CLASS)

	1		2		3		Unclassified		TOTALS		
LOCATION OF AREA	Summer	Easter	Summer	Easter	Summer	Easter	Summer	Easter	S.	E.	ALL
Wales	34	7	11	2	83	29	0	1	128	39	167
South West	50	26	47	8	32	16	19	0	148	50	198
East Anglia	46	6	70	8	49	30	0	5	165	49	214
East Midlands	57	2	7	18	37	52	23	0	124	72	196
West Midlands	59	7	47	14	34	25	0	2	140	48	188
Yorks. and Humberside	60	10	50	11	38	54	0	11	148	86	234
North West	47	7	49	23	37	26	0	10	133	66	199
North	56	11	55	17	39	56	4	6	154	90	244
South East (excl.Gr.London)	64	25	35	4	41	23	0	0	140	52	192
Greater London	39	24	27	28	20	34	67	16	153	102	255
TOTALS S.	512		398		410		113		1433		
E.		125		133		345		51		654	
ALL	637		531		755		164				2087

A.7 Probabilities of selection

Both for the main Summer and Easter sub-samples and for the supplementary Summer sample the factors determining each leaver's probability of selection were the same. Since the selection of the areas was to some extent purposive, no relative probabilities can be assigned as between boys in different areas. Within areas, however, selection was random and a leaver's probability of selection depended upon (a) the probability of selection of a school of the type which he attended, within area (sampling stage 2) and (b) the probability of selection of individuals within the academic stratum to which the leaver was assigned, within area (sampling stage 3). Since differential sampling fractions were used in selecting both types of school and types of leaver within each area, the probabilities of selection were calculable, but unequal.

While factors (a) and (b) above cover the general case, in practice some further complexity was introduced by the fact that sampling fractions within academic strata were separately determined at the main Summer, supplementary Summer and Easter sampling phases. Thus, regarding the supplementary sampling as a distinct phase for this purpose, the probabilities of selection of leavers were in fact differential by phase within stratum within school type within area.

A.8 Sample reweighting and interpretation of results

Within any given area, the probability of selection for each school-leaver was calculable by reference to the factors discussed in the previous section. It follows, therefore, that application to each final stage unit of a reweighting factor equal to the inverse of its probability of selection will produce an analysis sample which is statistically representative, within random sampling margins, of leavers in our defined population within that area. In strictly statistical terms, therefore, the procedures described above yield ten separate area sub-samples.

At the analysis stage, however, the data from different area sub-samples were in many cases combined. As already indicated, there is no adequate statistical justification for this procedure, in that selection of first stage units (areas) was not wholly random. However, the authors of the report take the view that the ten areas were selected in such a way (see Section 4 above) as to cover most of the range of variation in area factors affecting the employment of school-leavers in England and Wales and that, when combined, they give a picture which is not unrepresentative, for practical purposes, of the national scene. This judgement is, of course, a subjective one. However, it derives some support from the results of various comparisons between sample distributions and independent national figures, which are reported and discussed in Chapters II and III of the main report.

The sample data, suitably reweighted, have accordingly been analysed and interpreted in much of the report on the assumption that they can be used as a basis for generalizations about the national youth employment scene. However, it must be emphasized that, throughout the analysis, the stress has been upon identification of broad and consistent patterns of interrelationship between variables and not upon the production of "national" statistics, for which purpose the sample is unsuitable. Readers are, indeed, warned from time to time in the text of the dangers of interpreting isolated percentages or proportions as accurate measures of the incidence of particular factors within the population. These dangers are particularly acute where rarely-occurring or patchily-distributed factors or attributes are in question.

Aside from general questions of representation and generalizability, the use of reweighted data itself raises certain problems, such as the fact that standard tests of statistical significance are complex and laborious to apply to results based upon such data. In fact, where the system of weighting is as complex as in the present study, it becomes quite impracticable to make theoretically exact significance calculations. This is so, of course, even for within-area analyses.

In these circumstances, some compromise had to be reached between the unattainable statistical ideal of exact tests and the opposite policy of giving no objective indication at all of the likely level of reliability of the results presented. Since most of the results are in the form of percentaged tables, an obvious expedient is to give bases for all percentages. However, this leads to a further dilemma. Unreweighted bases (e.g. the actual number of individuals from whose answers a percentage distribution is derived) represent something "real" and objective. Furthermore, it is probable that significance calculations which treated unreweighted numbers as though derived from a simple random sample would in most cases give results which were not too misleading, if interpreted conservatively. However, since the percentages actually presented are based on reweighted numbers, they are arithmetically incompatible with unreweighted bases. Furthermore, production of both weighted and unreweighted numbers involves twice as much computing. Reweighted bases, on the other hand, are automatically produced with the results to be presented and are compatible with them, but their absolute magnitude, upon which estimates of reliability depend, is arbitrary.

The partial and not very satisfactory solution adopted in the report is to present reweighted bases scaled so that the average reweighting factor, taken across the whole sample, is 1.00 (i.e. scaled so as to make the absolute size of the original and reweighted samples the same). This expedient was adopted because, for many tables, the original bases and bases thus reweighted were found to be quite similar in practice, due to an "averaging out" effect. The exceptions were tables where percentaging was within groups of school-leavers differing in academic level, or in some attribute closely related to academic level. This is what would be expected from the fact that probabilities of selection differed most as between academic strata and that the overall tendency of the weighting system was to over-sample the higher-achieving school-leavers and to under-sample the lower-achieving boys - and especially the 15-year-old leavers - relative to their occurrence in the population. The general effect can be seen from Table 5, which shows the average reweighting factors applicable to sub-groups defined by academic level (as determined at interview) and by type of secondary school attended.

A glance at Table 5 shows that only one of the groups distinguished in the body of the table, namely, non-examination candidates leaving from secondary modern schools, was reweighted by a factor of more than 1.00. Because this group was a large one, the average reweighting factors for all leavers from secondary moderns and all non-examination candidates also exceed 1.00. This means that when, for example, percentages are shown on the base of "all non-examination candidates" (as frequently happens in the report), the reweighted base exceeds the number of boys actually interviewed by a factor of 1.26. However, since the actual number of such cases is relatively large (910 in all) the weighting effect is seldom crucial from the point of view of the reliability or significance of results.

Table A5 Average reweighting factors by academic level and type of secondary school attended

LEVEL OF EXAMINATIONS SAT	TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL			
	Grammar/ Technical	Com-prehensive	Secondary modern	Total
Sat wholly or mainly subjects at GCE "O" Level*	.49	.95	.86	.57
Sat wholly or mainly subjects at CSE+	.57	.83	.81	.78
Sat neither GCE nor CSE examinations	.56	.98	1.45	1.26
TOTAL	.52	.92	1.21	1.00

* Sat subjects at GCE "O" Level only, or sat at least 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics at GCE, as well as subject(s) at CSE.

+ Sat subject(s) at CSE and not as many as 5 subjects, including English and Mathematics, at GCE "O" Level.

For all the other groups distinguished in the body of Table 5, the reweighted total will be lower than the number of boys interviewed - in the case of leavers from grammar and technical schools, up to 50% lower.

Purely as a very crude rule of thumb, therefore, it can be said that the reader who wishes to obtain a rough estimate of the order of reliability of percentaged results may treat the (reweighted) bases printed in the report as though they were unweighted bases derived from a simple random sample. The impression he gains from so doing is likely to underestimate reliability in the case of groups consisting of more academic leavers and to underestimate it somewhat in the case of 15-year-old leavers and leavers from secondary modern schools. Cases which for some reason do not conform to this rule, or where special issues arise over significance or generalizability of results, are commented upon in the text of the report.

A.9 Response rates

(a) School-leavers

Table 6 gives an analysis of response rates on the part of the selected school-leavers for the main Summer, supplementary Summer and Easter sampling phases. Response rates amongst eligible school-leavers were in general very high. The fall-off to 91% in the case of those in the supplementary Summer sample was mainly due to constraints upon interviewing resources. The causes of the high rate of ineligibility have already been discussed.

Table A6 School-leaver response rates

	MAIN SUMMER			SUPPLEMENTARY SUMMER			EASTER			TOTAL		
	No.	%	%	No.	%	%	No.	%	%	No.	%	%
Total selected	1242	100		191	100		654	100		2087	100	
Ineligible	157	13		35	18		91	14		283	14	
Total eligible	1085	87	100	156	82	100	563	86	100	1804	86	100
Could not be contacted	16		2	8		5	13		2	37		2
Refused interview	11		1	6		4	14		3	31		2
Interviewed	1058		97	142		91	536		95	1736		96

(b) Parents, teachers and Careers Officers

It was aimed to interview one parent (father wherever possible) or parent-substitute of each eligible school-leaver. The response achieved at each phase of sampling is shown in Table 7.

Table A7 Parental response rates

	MAIN SUMMER		SUPPLEMENTARY SUMMER		EASTER		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All parents of eligible school-leavers	1085	100	156	100	563	100	1804	100
Could not be contacted	22	2	10	6	23	4	55	3
Refused interview	37	3	8	5	40	7	85	5
Interviewed	1026	95	140	90	500	89	1666	92

At each of the 96 schools included in the sample, the aim was to interview the head teacher and, through him, to identify all teachers responsible for careers work with fourth and fifth year boy leavers. The careers teachers so identified were then to be interviewed. All interviewing of teachers was done at the main Summer phase. The 96 head teachers and 111 careers teachers all co-operated in the survey.

Careers Officers who had the main responsibility for careers work with younger boy leavers from the sampled schools were identified via local

Youth Employment Bureaux. The 47 officers involved in the ten areas were all approached and interviewed during the main Summer phase of the fieldwork.

(c) Teachers' and Careers Officers' Assessments

It had been planned to obtain two independent assessments of each eligible boy in the sample, one from a teacher who knew him well and the other from the Careers Officer with whom he had had a school-leaving interview. Unfortunately, however, it was not possible to obtain these assessments for boys in the supplementary Summer sample, owing to constraints upon time and resources. Teachers' Assessment forms were completed for all but two of the boys in the main Summer and Easter samples and Careers Officers' Assessment forms were completed for all those who proved to have had a school-leaving interview by the time the survey took place (see Chapter IX for details).

APPENDIX B

RELIABILITY OF SCALES USED IN THE REPORT

B.1 Formation, validity and reliability of scales

The field work at Stage I, involving as it did the use of some eight separate data-gathering instruments, produced a mass of information relating to the attributes and circumstances of each boy in the main sample. For the purposes of the main analysis it was essential that means be found of reducing the material to manageable proportions, but this had to be done in a selective and systematic way. Much time and effort were therefore devoted, at preliminary stages of the analysis, first, to sifting and cross-checking the data and, second, to distilling the raw questionnaire and interview material into a reasonable number of relevant, valid and reliable measures.

The problem of data-reduction was most acute in the case of responses which expressed the attitudes of boys and their parents towards various aspects of education, employment and so on. As frequently happens, the form in which these data were obtained was rather diffuse and it was planned from the outset to use scaling techniques to extract measures of the main underlying attitudinal dimensions. Ten such measures were developed and used at Stage I.

The general method of scale formation was to identify by correlational analysis clusters of items (i.e. responses to questions) which had some significant amount of variance in common. Where this shared variance seemed to reflect a relevant and interpretable common theme, scales were formed by scoring each individual according to the number of "positive" responses he had made to items in the cluster. "Positive" responses were defined for each cluster as those which reflected a particular attitude or response-tendency (e.g. preference for "white collar" work) rather than its opposite (i.e. preference for manual work). The score of an individual on the final scale was then taken to reflect his position on an underlying attitudinal dimension, so that, for example, high scores might represent a marked preference for "white collar" employment and what goes with it, and low scores an opposite preference for manual work.

In the case of the three factor scales measuring behavioural traits, which were derived from teachers' ratings, the method of scale formation was basically similar to that described above but somewhat more sophisticated, in that a computerized factor analysis routine was used to identify dimensions representing the traits and to define and apply the most efficient method of scoring.

With attitude scales, as with any other kind of measure, the most important question to raise is that of validity, i.e. does the scale measure what it was intended to measure, or, alternatively, has the concept or dimension which the scale does, in fact, measure been correctly interpreted? These issues arise at the stage of cluster definition and scale formation and continue to be of central importance whenever scale scores are used in the course of analysis. They have therefore been discussed, both from the point of view of "face validity" and item content, and from the point of view of external criteria, such as convergent and discriminant validity, at appropriate points in the main text.

There remains the question of reliability, i.e. to what extent does variance in scale scores reflect true variation in the single attitudinal or other dimension which the scale is intended to measure? Given that a scale is reasonably valid, the issue of reliability reduces to the question of how much random measurement error scale scores contain. This, in turn, can be estimated, given the number and level of intercorrelation of items contributing to the scale.

Almost all survey data contain some measurement error and, in the case of attitudinal data, the proportion of "error" to "true score" variance is often very high. However, scores on a properly-formed and valid scale will always give a more reliable measure of the underlying dimension than would any of the constituent items, taken on its own. The reason for presenting evidence on the reliability of scales is not, therefore, that scale scores are less reliable than measures based on single responses - on the contrary - but that the reliability of scale scores can be estimated, whereas that of single responses cannot.

A convenient approximate index of scale reliability is Cronbach's Alpha. Given certain assumptions about the distributions and interrelationships of the constituent items, this coefficient can be shown to measure the proportion of total variance in scale scores which reflects true variance on the underlying attitudinal (or other) variable. An alpha value of 1.00 would indicate that the scale was a perfect measure of this variable, whereas a score of 0 would indicate that the items included in the alleged scale had no real common content and thus related to no single underlying dimension. In practice, values for attitude scales tend to fall in the middle to upper range. Alpha values for the scales used at Stage I are given below, together with references to sections in the main text of the report at which the formation, interpretation and validity of the scales are mainly discussed.

B.2 Reliability coefficients

Scale title	No. of items	Alpha value	Main section reference
Parents' Cynical-Apathetic Materialism ..	12	.65	3.6
Parents' Lack of Knowledge and Concern ..	6	.45	3.7
Boys' Attitude to School	5	.50	4.5
Boys' Social Precocity	5	.50	4.6
Boys' White Collar Orientation	9	.68	5.2
Boys' Instrumental Orientation	6	.49	5.2
Perceived helpfulness of Careers Officer	5	.59	10.3
"Co-operativeness" factor score	7*	.92	4.2
"Social Maturity" factor score	5*	.86	4.2
"Extraversion" factor score	4*	.83	4.2

*In the case of the factor scores, approximate Alpha values were calculated from corresponding item clusters.

APPENDIX C

CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONAL DATA

C.1 Basic problems and requirements

The present study contains a large number of questions and answers referring to jobs or types of work. Such questions are prominent at all three stages of the enquiry and were addressed to different sets of informants (e.g. boys, parents, Careers Officers, employers) in a variety of contexts. In some cases the answers given were fairly specific, as when boys gave details of jobs fixed up or actually started. In other cases they were rather vague, as when boys or Careers Officers referred to types of work cursorily discussed in the course of school-leaving interviews. In spite of this, it was highly desirable to use a common set of categories in coding all references to occupations, so as to provide a constant framework within which comparisons could be made.

The first requirement, therefore, was for a basic system of occupational coding which was comprehensive and yet flexible enough to accommodate data of the types just described.

When the requirements of analysis and presentation of results were taken into consideration, a further problem presented itself. The sample of boys was occupationally very heterogeneous, including as it did aspirants to virtually all the types of job open to younger male school-leavers, whereas its total size was (for this purpose) quite small. As a consequence, detailed classification aimed at distinguishing homogeneous occupational groups produced a relatively large number of categories, many of which contained very few cases. For purposes of statistical comparison and presentation such a classification is unwieldy and inconvenient. Our second requirement, therefore, was for a method of condensing the detailed occupational classification, so as to produce a more concise set of categories and a more even distribution of cases. It is this requirement which raises the more difficult problems.

C.2 Selection of a system of occupational coding

At the outset, we were faced with a choice between developing our own system of occupational coding ad hoc and adapting some system already developed elsewhere. It could be argued in favour of the first alternative that an ad hoc system would be more finely attuned to the requirements of this study. However, the compilation of a comprehensive and systematic classification of occupations is in fact a major undertaking, requiring much specialist knowledge and skill. Furthermore, there are special dangers in attempting such an operation using data from the same, limited sample to which the classification is to be applied for purposes of analysis. In view of these considerations, we decided to base our approach upon some pre-existing system of occupational classification. This course had the added advantage of allowing comparison with other studies and sources based upon the same system.

On enquiry, it proved that there were only two detailed and comprehensive systems of occupational classification which might prove acceptable for our purpose, namely, that used by the General Registry Office* in classifying census data etc. and the system now known as CODOT (Classification of Occupations and Directory of Occupational Titles), which was developed by the Department of Employment's Manpower Research Unit as an aid to occupational placement and manpower planning.

The GRO occupational classification has already been mentioned in Chapter III of this report as the source of the Social Class and SEG groupings. While very detailed by most standards, it is essentially a general purpose system which has developed and been modified over time in response to a very wide range of demands. As a consequence, the criteria of classification are not always clearly related to the activity-content of occupations, which we thought would be the most important aspect from the school-leavers' point of view.

The CODOT system on the other hand, was deliberately developed with a rather narrower range of uses and requirements and a more explicit set of criteria in mind. The basic rationale of classification is related to job-content, rather than to job-status etc. (though, as ever, other principles occasionally have to be invoked). Its structure is more elaborately hierarchical than that of the Registrar General's classification, with individual occupations classified first into "Unit Groups" and then into "Minor" and finally "Major" groups at successively higher levels of generality.

On the basis of these considerations it was decided to use the CODOT system for our basic occupational classification. The "Minor Group" level of classification, which potentially distinguishes some 73 different groups, was selected as providing a breakdown which, while not demanding too much of the raw data, gave at least as much detail as was required for any of the analyses proposed. It was found that the vast majority of job-titles specified by the boys, or by other informants, at Stage I of the study, were capable of being assigned to one or other of the CODOT Minor Groups (which for non-specialist purposes can be thought of as separate occupations, rather than occupational groups).

C.3 Development of condensed versions of the occupational classification

The classification of answers referring to occupations into CODOT Minor Groups seemed to answer the first of the requirements mentioned in Section 1 above, but still left us with the problems of producing a condensed version or versions of the classification usable for general analysis purposes.

The most obvious way of effecting a condensation would have been to make use of the highest level of classification incorporated in the CODOT system, namely, the 18 Major Groups. On investigation, however, we felt that the Major Group classification ignored certain distinctions which it was desirable to preserve within the condensed classification, given the particular aims and preoccupations of the present enquiry. It was therefore decided to start afresh from the Minor Group level and to re-group the categories in two ways, one of which yielded 29 and the other 15 substantive categories. These will be referred to as CONCODOT 1 and CONCODOT 2 respectively.

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* Now part of the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys.

In the process of this regrouping, one further dimension of classification was introduced which was not present in the original CODOT formulation, namely, the dimension of "Training Status". In a number of the cases where details of occupation were asked for in the course of the Stage I interviews, informants were also questioned about the formal training status of the job concerned. On the basis of answers given it was possible to classify manual occupations into those which involved apprenticeship or equivalent training, or were formally classified as "skilled", on the one hand, and other (non-skilled) jobs on the other. This distinction was then applied to certain of the categories formed by combining CODOT Minor Groups, so as to split them into "skilled" and "non-skilled" categories. In the case of the CONCODOT 1 classification eight manual categories were split in this way, but in the case of CONCODOT 2 the distinction was only preserved in the case of engineering and metal-manufacturing occupations.

In classifying occupational data for purposes of presentation in this report, the breakdown referred to above as CONCODOT 2 is the one most generally used. From time to time, however, an even more concise method of classification is required, which focusses specifically upon broad distinctions between jobs in terms of occupational status, rather than upon differences in activity-content as such. To meet this need the 15 occupational categories distinguished in CONCODOT 2 were further condensed into four CODOT Status Groups. Status Group I contains all non-manual occupations only, while Status Groups II-IV contain "elite manual", "middle manual" and "lower manual" occupations respectively. A more detailed account of the content and interrelationships of these occupational groupings will be found in Section 6.3 of the main text. The method of combining CODOT Minor Groups successively into CONCODOT 1, CONCODOT 2 and CODOT Status Groups is shown in detail in Section 5 of this appendix.

C.4 Problems encountered in producing and interpreting condensed occupational classifications

In discussing the methods used in classifying "occupations", it must be remembered that the data with which we are concerned consisted essentially of occupational titles. The additional descriptive detail obtained in answer to the relevant questions was useful as a rough check that the titles given were not grossly inappropriate or misleading, but in no way provided an independent or alternative basis for occupational classification. Strictly speaking, therefore, the problems of condensation begin as soon as one seeks to move beyond a system which assigns a separate category to each job-title. In practice, however, it is usually possible to combine a certain number of categories, and thus condense the classification, in a relatively uncontroversial way, provided that only a moderate degree of condensation is being attempted and that clear inherent similarity of occupations is the only criterion. Thus for many purposes it would be reasonable to group carpenters and joiners, for example, into a single occupational category.

Unfortunately, however, the exigencies of analysis required a much more radical approach to the condensation of occupational categories and here the pitfalls are many. Difficulties arise

(a) because more or less disputable assumptions have to be made in order to justify amalgamating specific occupational categories into broader groupings;

(b) because limited sample size imposes a requirement, extraneous to the logic of classification as such, to avoid retaining categories which contain too few cases for statistical purposes;

(c) because the occupational content of amalgamated categories is liable to vary as between populations, thus confounding interpretation, and

(d) because there is an ever-present danger that the content of amalgamated categories may be misrepresented by the brief "labels" which it is necessary to use in presenting and discussing results.

As regards problem (a), our basic principle in amalgamating categories to produce a concise classification was to group together occupations which involved similar work-activities (including training activities). However, it must be admitted that, by the time the classification has been condensed to, say, 15 categories, the common theme of some of the groupings becomes diffuse and difficult to define, even where the groupings themselves appear intuitively reasonable.

In extreme cases problem (b) can lead to the formation of heterogeneous and conceptually rather meaningless groupings such as "Service occupations not elsewhere classified". Whilst we have avoided this, there is an almost inescapable tendency, where rather broad groupings are required, for the criterion of classification to shift from that of "activity-content" to that of "skill level" or even "job-status". For some purposes, of course, classification in terms of skill or status hierarchies is useful in its own right and a particular version of our main classificatory system was, in fact, developed with this end in view.

Problem (c) is rather more subtle in its effects and implications, but is nevertheless potentially serious in any situation where a condensed classification is developed with the detailed occupational composition of a particular population (or sample) of individuals in mind, but is then applied unthinkingly to a quite different population for purposes of comparison. The dangers of such a procedure are illustrated in Section 6.3 above, using fathers' and sons' jobs as an example.

The labelling problem (d) is less fundamental, but none the less insidious in practice. The whole point of condensation is, of course, to produce a limited set of categories which can nevertheless be identified and distinguished in meaningful terms. However, such a classification is most unlikely to be unidimensional - i.e. the occupations grouped into category A are likely to differ from the occupations grouped into category B in more than one respect. For the purposes of one analysis the crucial point may be that occupations in category A are more demanding in terms of skill or ability than those in category B, while for the purposes of another analysis the key difference may be that category A contains mainly "indoor" jobs, whereas category B contains mainly "outdoor" jobs. Because of this difficulty we have, in general, resorted to labelling each condensed category with the names of the main occupations which it contains (i.e. as found within the sample of school-leavers). However, this is certainly not a wholly satisfactory solution, since the category label cannot mention all the constituent occupations or give any quantitative indication of their relative proportions within the category.

As against these difficulties, one advantage of a condensed method of classification using broader categories is that it permits rather vaguely-defined occupations, which could not be readily coded within a more detailed system, to be assigned to a definite category.

C.5 Combination of CODOT Minor Groups into CONCODOT 1, CONCODOT 2 and CODOT Status Groups

Minor Group Definition	CONCODOT 1 category	CONCODOT 2 category	CODOT Status Group
All Managerial and administrative occupations (MG 00, 27-28)	1	1	I
All professional occupations supporting management/administration or in education, welfare or health (MG 02-12)	2	1	I
All literary, artistic and sports occupations (MG 15-18)	5	2	I
All professional and related occupations in science, engineering, technology and similar fields (MG 21-25)	2	1	I
All clerical data-processing and related occupations (MG 31-33)	3	2	I
All selling occupations, including roundsmen and retail supervisors (MG 36-37)	6	3	III
Security and protective service occupations (MG 40)	4	4	II
Armed Forces (MG 41)	10	4	II
All catering, cleaning, hairdressing and other personal service occupations (MG 43-47)	8	3	III
All farming, fishing and related occupations (MG 50-51)	29	15	IV

Minor Group Definition		CONCODOT 1 category	CONCODOT 2 category	CODOT Status Group
Materials processing occupations, excluding metal (MG 53-59)	Apprenticed	24	10	IV
	Non-Apprenticed	23	10	IV
Making and repairing occupations, excluding metal, wood, electrical and printing/photographic/ bookbinding (MG 61-62, 65-66, 68-69)	Apprenticed	24	10	IV
	Non-Apprenticed	23	10	IV
Metal forming and treating, engineering and metal manufacturing fitting and machining (MG 71-73, 79)	Apprenticed	14	5	II
	Non-Apprenticed	13	9	IV
Mechanical installing, maintaining and repairing (MG 74)	Apprenticed	16	7	III
	Non-Apprenticed	15	7	III
Printing, photographic, bookbinding and related occupations (MG 63-64)	Apprenticed	18	5	II
	Non-Apprenticed	17	9	IV
Electrical and electronic fitting, installing, maintaining and repairing (MG 75-76)	Apprenticed	12	6	II
	Non-Apprenticed	11	6	II
Pipe, sheet and structural metal working (MG 77)	Apprenticed	28	8	III
	Non-Apprenticed	27	8	III
Painting, coating decorating (MG 81)	Apprenticed	26	8	III
	Non-apprenticed	25	8	III
Woodworking occupations (MG 67)	Apprenticed	20	11	III
	Non-Apprenticed	19	11	III
All building, civil engineering, mining and related occupations (MG 86-87)	Apprenticed	22	12	IV
	Non-Apprenticed	21	12	IV

Minor Group Definition	CONCODOT 1 category	CONCODOT 2 category	CODOT Status Group
Product assembling sorting, packaging, labelling, materials handling, equipment operating, labouring (MG 82-84, 94-99)	9	13	IV
All postal, transport and communications occupations (MG 34, 91-93)	7	14	IV

APPENDIX D
THE QUESTIONNAIRES

GOVERNMENT SOCIAL SURVEY

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT STUDY

SS 427

SCHOOL-LEAVERS SCHEDULE

Area number	☐☐	Date of interview	Day ☐ Month ☐

School and boy serial numbers	☐☐☐ ☐☐	Time begun	☐
		Time finished	☐

Interviewer's name .... Auth. No. ☐☐☐

THIS SECTION TO BE COMPLETED BY THE INTERVIEWER AT THE END OF THE INTERVIEW

A. Where did the interview take place?	
At school	1
At home	2
Other (specify)	3
B. Apart from yourself and the informant, who else was present (i.e. within earshot) during the interview?	
No others	9
CODE ALL THAT APPLY — Boy's father or male guardian	1
Boy's mother or female guardian	2
Other (specify)	3
C. Were there any other circumstances which you feel seriously affected the rapport or validity of the interview?	
No, none	9
Yes	1
IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN BELOW	

1. How old were you on your last birthday?

Years of age →

---

2. Are you still attending school at present, or have you left school?

	DNA (obviously still at school)	1 ASK a
	still at school	2 ASK a
	Left school	3 ASK b

(a) Do you know for certain yet when you will be leaving school?

	Yes	1 ASK (i)
	No	2 ASK (ii)

(i) In which year and month will you be leaving?

	March/April 1969	1 GO TO Q3
	May - July 1969	2 TERMINATE INTERVIEW
	After July 1969	3 TERMINATE INTERVIEW

(ii) Do you think you might possibly leave at Easter this year, or not?

	No, definitely not at Easter 1969	1 TERMINATE INTERVIEW
	Yes, might leave at Easter 1969	2 GO TO Q3

(b) On what date did you leave school? (EXACT DATE)

/ /

---

3. For how many years (counting this year) have you been (were you) at (NAME OF SCHOOL)?

Years →

---

4. What is the name of the class you are in now (you were in just before you left school)?

---

5. Do you hope to get (Did you get) a full-time job at once after leaving school, or will you be going on (did you go on) to some other school or college before getting a full-time job?

	Hope to get job at once	1
	Already started job	2 ASK a
	Going on to other school or college	3 ASK b-d
	Other (specify)	4 ASK d

(a) On what date did you start working full-time?

(b) What is the name and address of this school or college you will be (are) going to? (FULL DETAILS)

(c) What subjects will you be (are you) studying at (SCHOOL OR COLLEGE NAMED)?

(d) Do you think you might decide to take a full-time job by September 1969, or will you definitely not be taking a full-time job by then?

Might take job by Sept 1969 — 1

Definitely not taking job by Sept 1969 — 2 → TERMINATE INTERVIEW

---

6. By the time you take a full-time job, will you have (Have you) sat any examinations like GCE, CSE and so on (at school or elsewhere)?

Yes — 1 ASK a-b

No — 2

(a) Will you have (Have you) sat any subjects at (PROMPT (i)-(iv) IN TURN)?

(ASK ABOUT EACH TYPE OF EXAMINATION SAT - INCLUDING THOSE ALREADY SAT)

(b) Which subjects will you have sat at (NAME OF EXAMINATION)?

		(a)		(b)	
	NAME OF EXAMINATION	YES	NO	SUBJECTS SAT AT EXAM.	
(i)	GCE "O" Level	1	2		
(ii)	CSE	1	2		
(iii)	RSA	1	2	(SPECIFY STAGE)	
(iv)	Any other examination (SPECIFY)	1	2		

7. Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions on how you feel about school.
In general, would you say that being in school this last year has done you -

	a lot of good	1
RUNNING	some good	2
PROMPT	not much good	3
	or no good at all?	4
	D.K.	5

---

8. Would you say that during this last year at school you've been -

	happy most of the time	1
RUNNING	happy some of the time	2
PROMPT	or not very happy at all?	3
	D.K.	4

---

9. Here are some things that boys have said about school. I'd like you to tell me for each one whether you feel the same way or not.

One (Another) thing boys have said is (PROMPT (a)-(e) IN TURN).
Do you ever feel this way or not? (Did you ever feel this way when you were at school or not?)

IF EVER FEELS THIS WAY, PROMPT - Do (Did) you feel like this often, just sometimes or hardly ever?

	Yes, often	Yes, sometimes	Yes, hardly ever	No/ never
(a) I will be glad to get away from school.	1	2	3	4
(b) There are some things about school that I will miss when I leave	1	2	3	4
(c) I feel bored with school because it's always the same, day after day.	1	2	3	4
(d) I feel a bit nervous at the thought of leaving school.	1	2	3	4
(e) I feel fed up with the teachers telling me what I can and can't do.	1	2	3	4

10. Now can we talk about jobs? I would like to know what sorts of things you would want to be happy in a job.

I am going to show you some cards. Each one has written on it a thing that some boys have said they would want to be happy in a job. First, will you read what is on each card as I give it to you. (HAND CARDS 2A-M, ONE BY ONE)

Now could you pick out the card that has written on it the thing which you would want most of all to be happy in a job.

WRITE "1" IN COLUMN OPPOSITE ITEM SELECTED

Now pick out the card that has written on it the next most important thing you would want to be happy in a job.

WRITE "2" IN COLUMN OPPOSITE ITEM SELECTED

REPEAT QUESTION UP TO RANK 6, THEN STOP

	RANK
(a) Work that is not too difficult	
(b) Friendly people to work with	
(c) Being able to take a pride in your work	
(d) Not being ordered about all the time	
(e) Learning a trade or getting a good training	
(f) A good chance of being promoted	
(g) A steady job	
(h) Working near home	
(i) Work that is not all routine	
(j) A job where you don't get dirty	
(k) A chance to travel	
(l) Good pay	
(m) Working hours that are not too long	

11. If you had to choose, would you prefer -

(REPEAT FOR (a), (b) AND (c) IN TURN)

(a) outdoor work	1
or indoor work?	3
Don't know/Don't mind	2
(b) working with your brain	1
or working with your hands?	3
Don't know/Don't mind	2
(c) work which is mostly dealing with people	1
or work which is dealing with things?	3
Don't know/Don't mind	2

12.	Have you got a full-time job definitely fixed up yet? (I believe you have already started a full-time job.)		
		Yes	1 ASK Q13
		No	2 GO TO Q31 P14
13.	What is this job? (FULL TITLE/DESCRIPTION)	Don't know	1 CHECK THAT JOB IS REALLY FIXED UP
14.	What is the name of the firm or employer you will be (are) working for?	Don't know	1 CHECK THAT JOB IS REALLY FIXED UP
15.	So far as you know, is this (going to be) your permanent job, or are you just going to do it temporarily, until you get some other job?	Permanent job	1
		Temporary job	2 ASK a
	(a) Do you have any other, permanent, job fixed up?		
	EXPLAIN THAT PERMANENT JOB IS THE ONE WE ARE INTERESTED IN AND REPEAT Q13-14, SUBSTITUTING ANSWERS ABOUT PERMANENT JOB FOR ANSWERS ABOUT TEMPORARY JOB. THEN CROSS OUT Q15 AND GO TO Q16.	← Yes	1 SEE INSTRUCTION
	TREAT TEMPORARY JOB NAMED AT Q13 AS IF PERMANENT AND ASK Q15(b), 16 ETC.	← No	2 ASK b
	(b) Is there some other, particular job that you want to get?	Yes	1 ASK i
		No	2
	(i) What is it? (FULL TITLE)		
16.	Can you tell me the names of any other firms or employers around here where you could have applied for a job as a ....? (RECORD FIRST FOUR NAMES MENTIONED)	No, none	9
		DNA - Job fixed up is Armed Forces	5
	1		
	2		
	3		
	4		

17. How much a week do you expect to be paid when you start (JOB FIXED UP)? (How much a week are you paid as a (JOB STARTED)?

....	
D.K.	9

18. Do you have a clear idea yet of the sort of work you will be given to do when you start as a ...., or just a rough idea, or not much idea at all? (Before you started as a ...., did you have a clear idea of the sort of work you would be given to do, or just a rough idea, or not much idea at all?)

Clear idea	1
Rough idea	2
Not much idea	3

(a) How did you find out about the sort of work you will (would) be given to do?

19. When you start (Now that you have started) as a ...., will you be (are you) called anything special, like "apprentice" or "trainee"?

Yes	1 ASK a
No	2
D.K.	3

(a) What will you be (are you) called, exactly?

20. So far as you know now, will you be taking any courses of training or further education at a college or night school after starting this job (now that you have started this job)?

Yes	1	ASK a-c
No	2	
D.K.	3	

(a) What kinds of courses will these be?
(RECORD SUBJECTS TO BE STUDIED AND QUALIFICATIONS AIMED AT, WHERE KNOWN, FOR FIRST 3 COURSES. EXCLUDE PURELY RECREATIONAL COURSES)
Ask b-c ABOUT EACH COURSE NAMED

(b) Will you be getting any time off your job to take (COURSES), or will you have to do it all in your own time?

(c) Could you have got this particular job without agreeing to take (COURSE), or not?

PLACE ANSWERS IN BOXES BELOW

(a)	(b)	(c)
KIND OF COURSE	WHETHER TIME OFF	WHETHER COULD HAVE GOT JOB WITHOUT TAKING COURSE
Subjects Qualifications	Some time off ......1 All own time ....2 D. K. 3	Yes, could have got job ......5 No, couldn't have got job ....6 D. K. 7
Subjects Qualifications	Some time off ....1 All own time ....2 D. K. 3	Yes, could have got job ......5 No, couldn't got job ....6 D. K. 7
Subjects Qualifications	Some time off ....1 All own time ....2 D. K. 3	Yes, could have got job ......5 No, couldn't have got job ....6 D. K. 7

21. Do (would) you like the idea of doing any further education after you have left school, or not?

Likes idea	1
Dislikes idea	2
Depends (specify)	3
D.K.	4

Now I would like you to tell me how you got this job (as a ....) fixed up.

22. How long ago did you get the job definitely fixed up? (SPECIFY PERIOD OF TIME AS EXACTLY AS POSSIBLE)

.... ago.

---

23. About how long ago did you first think of being a ....?

(SPECIFY PERIOD OF TIME AS EXACTLY AS POSSIBLE)

---

24. What made you think of doing this kind of work in the first place?

D.K./Can't remember	9

---

25. What did you, personally, do to get the job fixed up?

26. Did anybody help you to get this job?

	Yes	1 ASK a-b
	No	2

(a) Who helped you?
(SPECIFY RELATIONSHIP TO INFORMANT/OFFICIAL TITLE OF FIRST THREE PERSONS MENTIONED)

(A) ------------------------------------

(B) ------------------------------------

(C) ------------------------------------

ASK (b) ABOUT EACH PERSON WHO HELPED

(b) What did.........do to help you get the job?

(A)

- -

(B)

- -

(C)

---

27. Do you know anybody who does this kind of job?

	Yes	1 ASK a
	No	2
(a) Who? (SPECIFY RELATIONSHIP TO INFORMANT)	Father	4
DO NOT PROMPT	Brother	5
CODE ALL THAT APPLY	Other (specify)	6

---

28. Do you know anybody else who is thinking of taking up this kind of job?

	Yes	1 ASK a
	No	2

(a) Who? (SPECIFY RELATIONSHIP TO INFORMANT)

29. Have you ever thought of doing any other kinds of job, apart from (JOB FIXED UP OR STARTED)?

Yes 1 ASK a-c
No 2

(a) What kinds of job are these? (RECORD FIRST FOUR) (FULL TITLE(S)/DESCRIPTION(S)).

ASK (b) AND (c) ABOUT EACH KIND OF JOB NAMED

(b) What are the things you liked about the idea of (being a) (JOB NAMED?)

(c) If it turned out that you couldn't have (JOB FIXED UP), would you still consider (JOB NAMED)?

PLACE ANSWERS IN BOXES BELOW

	(a)	(b)	(c)	
	TITLE/DESCRIPTION OF JOB	THINGS LIKED ABOUT IDEA OF JOB	Would still consider	
			YES	NO
1.			1	2
2.			1	2
3.			1	2
4.			1	2

30. Is (JOB FIXED UP OR STARTED) the job you really want, or would you really prefer another job?

Really wants job fixed up	1 ASK a
Would prefer another job	2 ASK b
Depends (specify)	3 ASK a-b

IF CODES 1 OR 3

(a) What would you say are the things you will particularly like about (JOB FIXED UP OR STARTED)?

IF CODES 2 OR 3

(b) What job would you really like?
(FULL TITLE/DESCRIPTION. PROBE IF NECESSARY - What sort of work does a ....do?)

NOW GO TO QUESTION 48, Page 20

TO THOSE WITHOUT A JOB FIXED UP (CODE 2 AT Q.12)

31.	Have you thought of any jobs at all that you might do when you start work?	
	Yes	1 ASK Q.32
	No, none at all	2 GO TO Q.48 P.20

32. (a) What jobs have you thought of? (WRITE TITLES IN COLUMN (a) OPPOSITE AND UNDERLINE

ASK (b) - (e) ABOUT EACH JOB NAMED

(b) What sort of work does a...........do - could you describe it to me?

(c) How did you first come to know about this kind of job?

(d) What are the things you particularly liked about the idea of being a.............?

(e) Are you still thinking seriously of being a............?

PLACE ANSWERS IN BOXES ON OPPOSITE PAGE

33. IF MORE THAN ONE JOB MENTIONED
Which of these jobs is the main one you are aiming at just now?

ASK Q.34 - 37 ABOUT MAIN JOB AIMED AT ONLY

34.	About how long ago did you first think of being a...........? (IF 5 YEARS OR LESS, SPECIFY PERIOD AS PRECISELY AS POSSIBLE) .... ago	
	More than 5 years	1

35.	Can you tell me the names of any (firms or employers or other) places around here where a boy might get a job as a...........? (RECORD FIRST FIVE NAMES)	
	No, none	9
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

QUESTION 32

(a) - (b) TITLE (UNDERLINE) AND DESCRIPTION OF JOB	OFF. USE	(c) HOW FIRST CAME TO KNOW ABOUT KIND OF JOB	(d) WHAT PARTICULARLY LIKED ABOUT JOB	(e) STILL SERIOUS	
				YES	NO
1.				1	2
2.				1	2
3.				1	2
4.				1	2

36. If you got a job as a.........., about how much a week do you think you would be paid to start with?
(GROSS IF QUERIED) ....

D.K.	9

---

37. If you got a job as a ...., would you be called anything special, like "apprentice" or "trainee"?

Yes	1 ASK a
No	2
D.K.	3

(a) What would you be called? (FULL TITLE)

---

38. If you got a job as a.........., do you think you would take any courses of training or further education at a college or night school after starting the job?

Yes	1 ASK a-c
No	2
Depends/D.K.	3

(a) What kinds of course are these?
(FULLEST AVAILABLE DETAILS. EXCLUDE PURELY RECREATIONAL COURSES)

ASK (b) ABOUT EACH COURSE NAMED

(b) Do you think you would get any time off your job to take (COURSE), or would you have to do it all in your own time?

(c) Do you think you would have to take this course if you got the job, or not?

PLACE ANSWERS IN BOXES BELOW

	(a) WHAT KINDS OF COURSES	(b) WHETHER TIME OFF	(c) WHETHER HAVE TO TAKE
1.		Some time off ....1 All own time ....2 D.K. 3	Yes, would have to ...5 No, wouldn't have to .6 D.K. 7
2.		Some time off ....1 All own time ....2 D.K. 3	Yes, would have to ...5 No, wouldn't have to .6 D.K. 7
3.		Some time off ....1 All own time ....2 D.K. 3	Yes, would have to ...5 No, wouldn't have to .6 D.K. 7

39. Would you like the idea of doing any further education after you have left school, or not?

Likes idea	1
Dislikes idea	2
Depends (specify)	3
D.K.	4

---

40. So far, have you actually applied for any jobs as a ....?

Yes	1 ASK a
No	2

(a) How did you apply - what did you actually do?

---

41. Are you thinking of applying for any (other) jobs as a ....?

Yes	1 ASK a
No	2

(a) How will you apply - what will you actually do?

---

42. Have you done anything else so far to get a job as a ...., or to find out more about it?

Yes	1 ASK a
No	2

(a) What have you done?

DO NOT PROMPT
CODE ALL THAT
APPLY

Talked to parent(s)	1
Talked to teacher(s)	2
Talked to YEO	3
Other (specify)	4

43. Is anybody helping you, or going to help you, to get a job as a ....?

Yes	1	ASK a-c
No	2	

(a) Who is helping you? (RECORD UP TO FOUR PERSONS IN COLUMN (a) BELOW)

ASK (b) AND (c) ABOUT EACH PERSON NAMED

(b) What has (PERSON NAMED) done so far to help you get a job as a ....?

(c) Do you know of anything (else) (PERSON NAMED) is going to do to help you get a job as a ....? (IF SO) What?

WRITE ANSWERS IN BOXES BELOW

	(a) WHO IS HELPING	(b) WHAT HAS DONE SO FAR	(c) WHAT IS GOING TO DO
1		D.K./Nothing 9	D.K./Nothing 9
2		D.K./Nothing 9	D.K./Nothing 9
3		D.K./Nothing 9	D.K./Nothing 9
4		D.K./Nothing 9	D.K./Nothing 9

44. Do you know anybody who does this kind of job?

	Yes	1 ASK a
	No	2

(a) Who?
(SPECIFY RELATIONSHIP TO INFORMANT)

DO NOT PROMPT CODE ALL THAT APPLY	Father	1
	Brother	2
	Other (specify)	3

---

45. Do you know anybody else who is thinking of taking up this kind of job?

	Yes	1 ASK a
	No	2

(a) Who?
(SPECIFY RELATIONSHIP TO INFORMANT)

---

46. So far as you know now, do you think your chances of getting a job as a .... are -

RUNNING PROMPT	Very good	1
	Fairly good	2
	Or not very good?	3
	D.K.	4

---

47. What would you say are the main things that will decide whether or not you get a job as a ....?

ASK ALL

48. So far we have been talking about jobs. Now I would like you to give me a description of the sort of person you are - of your interests and your likes and dislikes.

(SHOW THIS PAGE)

First, look at part (a). I would like you to put a tick in one of the five boxes to show how you feel about outdoor sports and games. A tick in the box on the far left would mean that you are very keen on outdoor sports and games. A tick in the next box would mean that you were fairly keen. A tick in the middle box would mean that you couldn't decide whether you were keen or not. A tick in the next box would mean that you didn't like outdoor sports and games very much and a tick in the box at the far right would mean that you didn't like them at all.

Now will you put a tick in one of the boxes to show how you feel about outdoor sports and games, and then go on to do the rest, each time putting a tick in one of the boxes so as to show what kind of a person you are.

(a) Very keen on outdoor sports and games	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Don't like outdoor sports and games
(b) Quite happy to be told what to do	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Hate being told what to do
(c) Like being alone	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Hate being alone
(d) Interested in mechanical things like cars	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Not interested in mechanical things like cars
(e) Interested in office jobs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Not interested in office jobs
(f) Like plenty of change and variety	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Like to concentrate on one thing at a time
(g) Prefer making things with my hands to reading or writing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Prefer reading or writing to making things with my hands
(h) Very often feel bored	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Never feel bored
(i) Always full of energy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Always feel tired
(j) Interested in artistic things like painting, drawing or designing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Not interested in artistic things like painting, drawing or designing

49. I am going to read out some things that boys have said about work. I would like to know whether you agree or disagree with them. I expect you will agree or disagree strongly with some, not so strongly with others. There may be some where you neither agree nor disagree.

Here is a card with these different answers printed on it.

(HAND CARD 1 TO INFORMANT)

Could you tell me, each time, which answer comes nearest to the way you feel. There are no right or wrong answers - it's just the way you feel.

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
(a) When you start work, people begin treating you as a grown up person	5	4	3	2	1
(b) If you get bored with the job you're doing, you should pack it up and try something else	5	4	3	2	1
(c) You should always choose a job that will lead on to a better job	5	4	3	2	1
(d) I would like a job that was always easy	5	4	3	2	1
(e) Getting a good job depends on luck more than anything else	5	4	3	2	1
(f) I'm very much looking forward to really earning my own living	5	4	3	2	1
(g) Once you've thought of one job you would like, you should keep your mind on that and not worry about other jobs	5	4	3	2	1
(h) When all's said and done, the most important thing about any job is the pay	5	4	3	2	1
(i) It's best to take whatever job you can get and not be too "choosey"	5	4	3	2	1

50. Here is a card with a list of jobs on it that boys may get when they leave school. Could you read through it? (GIVE CARD 3 AND LET INFORMANT READ IT). Most people would say that some of those jobs are better than the rest, some of them are just average and some of them are worse than the rest. However, everybody has his own opinion about which jobs are better and which jobs are worse. As I read each one out, I would like you to tell me whether you think it is a better than average job, an average job or a worse than average job. I am not asking you which job you want for yourself. I just want to know your general opinion about each job.

	Q.50				Q.51
	Better than average	Average	Worse than average	D.K. can't say	Would refuse
(a) Junior salesman in a shop selling clothes	1	2	2	4	5
(b) Machine operator in a factory making nuts and bolts	1	2	3	4	5
(c) Junior accounts clerk, sending out bills and making up accounts	1	2	3	4	5
(d) Van boy, delivering things	1	2	3	4	5
(e) Assistant in a chemical laboratory, learning to do tests and experiments	1	2	3	4	5
(f) Trainee draughtsman, learning to draw plans and blue-prints	1	2	3	4	5
(g) Farm worker, handling animals and farm tools and machinery	1	2	3	4	5
(h) Apprentice joiner, learning to put doors and woodwork in buildings	1	2	3	4	5
(i) Labourer on a building site, making cement and carrying things about	1	2	3	4	5
(j) Boy soldier, training for the Regular Army	1	2	3	4	5

51. Thinking now of yourself - are there any jobs on the card that you would refuse to take as your permanent job, even if you couldn't get anything else? (IF SO) Which jobs are those? (CODE IN RIGHT-HAND COLUMN ABOVE).

No, none 0

52. Have you said anything to your father about what you want to do when you leave school?

Yes	1 ASK (a)
No	2
DNA - No father	9

(a) Has he given you any advice, or said anything to you about it?

Yes	1 ASK i
No	2

(i) What has he said to you about it?

---

53. Have you said anything to your mother about what you want to do when you leave school?

Yes	1 ASK (a)
No	2
DNA - No mother	9

(a) Has she given you any advice or said anything to you about it?

Yes	6 ASK i
No	7

(i) What has she said to you about it?

Agrees with/says same as father	1
Other (specify)	2

54. Do you agree with what your parents (father/mother) have (has) said, or not?

Yes, agree completely	1	
No, disagree	2)	ASK a
Other (specify)	3)	

(a) In what ways don't you agree with them (him/her) about what you are going to do when you leave school?

---

55. Is there a particular teacher in your school who is supposed to advise boys in your class about what they are going to do after they leave?

Yes	1	
No	2)	GO TO
D.K.	3)	Q.59 P.26

(a) What is the name of this teacher?

(b) Have you ever had a personal talk with him (her) about what you are going to do after you leave?

Yes	1	
No	2	GO TO Q.59 P.26.

IF HAD PERSONAL TALK WITH CAREERS TEACHER - CODE 1 AT Q.55(b)

56. Could you think now about the longest personal talk you (have) had with (CAREERS TEACHER) about what you are (were) going to do when you leave (left)? Did you ask to see him (her) about it that time, or did he (she) ask to see you?

Informant asked	1 ASK a
Teacher asked	2
Can't remember	3

(a) Why did you ask to see him (her)?

57. What did he (she) say to you?

58. Would you say that this talk helped you at all, or not?

Yes, helped	1 ASK a
No, didn't help	2
Other (specify)	3

(a) In what ways did it help you?

59. During this year, has your class been having (During your last year at school, did your class have) regular careers lessons every week - I mean lessons where you learn about different kinds of jobs and how to choose a job and so on?

Yes	1 ASK a-b
No	2

(a) How many careers lessons do (did) you have a week?

(b) Do you think these lessons are going to help (helped) you at all?

Yes	1) ASK i
Depends (specify)	2)
No	3

(i) In what ways do you think they will help you?

60. Have you ever heard of somebody called the (YEO)?

Yes	1
No	2 GO TO Q70 P.31

61. Have you ever had a personal interview with a (YEO)?

Yes (already mentioned)	1 ASK a
No	2 GO TO Q70 P.31

(a) How many personal interviews have you had with a (YEO)?

Just one	1
Number	

IF HAS HAD INTERVIEW WITH YEO - CODE 1 AT Q61 - ASK Q62

IF NO INTERVIEW WITH YEO - CODE 2 AT Q61 - GO TO Q70

(Can we talk now about the first interview you had)

62. Was anybody else in the room where you saw the (YEO)?

Yes	1 ASK a
No	2

(a) Who else was there?

Father	1
Mother	2
Careers teacher	3
Head teacher	4
Other (specify)	5

63. Did you tell the (YEO) about any particular jobs or types of work you were interested in?

Yes	1 ASK a-d
No	2
Can't remember	3

(a) What jobs or types of work did you mention to him?

ASK (b) - (d) ABOUT EACH JOB OR TYPE OF WORK MENTIONED

(b) Did the (YEO) think that (JOB OR TYPE OF WORK) was suitable for you, or did he advise you against it?

(c) Did the (YEO) give you any advice or help on how to get (a job as a) (JOB OR TYPE OF WORK)?

(IF YES) What advice or help did he give you?

(d) Did the (YEO) tell you anything else about (JOB OR TYPE OF WORK)? (IF SO) What did he tell you?

PLACE
ANSWERS
IN BOXES
ON OPPOSITE
PAGE

64. Did the (YEO) suggest any (other) jobs or types of work that he thought would be suitable for you?

Yes	1 ASK a-b
No	2
Can't remember	

(a) What jobs or types of work did he suggest?

ASK (b) ABOUT EACH JOB OR TYPE OF WORK MENTIONED

(b) What did you think of (JOB OR TYPE OF WORK) as a possible job for you?

PLACE
ANSWERS
IN BOXES
ON OPPOSITE
PAGE

Q.63 JOBS ETC. MENTIONED BY BOY

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
JOBS OR TYPES OF WORK MENTIONED	WHETHER YEO THOUGHT SUITABLE	ADVICE/HELP GIVEN	WHAT ELSE YEO SAID
	Suitable 1 Advised against 2 D.K. etc. 3	None 9	Nothing else 9
	Suitable 1 Advised against 2 D.K.etc. 3	None 9	Nothing else 9
	Suitable 1 Advised against 2 D.K.etc. 3	None 9	Nothing else 9
	Suitable 1 Advised against 2 D.K.etc. 3	None 9	Nothing else 9

Q.64 JOBS ETC. MENTIONED BY YEO

(a)	(b)
JOBS OR TYPES OF WORK MENTIONED	WHAT BOY THOUGHT OF JOB ETC.

65. What else was said at the interview?

Nothing else	9

---

66. Would you say that, on the whole, this interview turned out as you expected, or not?

As expected	1
Not as expected	2 ASK a
D.K./Wasn't expecting anything	3

(a) What had you been expecting?

---

67. Would you say that this interview with the (YEO) helped you in any way, or not?

Yes, helped	1 ASK a
No, didn't help	

(a) In what ways did it help you?

IF INFORMANT HAD MORE THAN ONE Y.E. INTERVIEW - Q61(a) - ASK Q68 AND 69

68. Now could you tell me about the interview(s) you had with a (YEO) after the first one? Was there any special reason why you had more than one interview? (IF SO) What was it?

No special reason/D.K.	9

---

69. Could you tell me exactly what happened at this (these) later interview(s)?

ASK ALL

70. Apart from your parents, your careers teacher or the Youth Employment Officer, have (did) any other people advised you, or helped you in any way, as regards what you are (were) going to do when you leave (left) school?

(CHECK TO MAKE SURE THAT ANY PERSONS MENTIONED AT Q42 ALSO APPEAR AT Q70)

Yes	1 ASK a
No, nobody	2

(a) Who are they?

A .... C ....

B .... D ....

ASK (b) ABOUT EACH PERSON NAMED

(b) In what way has .... helped or advised you?

A

....

B

....

C

....

D

....

71. Of all the people who (have) helped or advised you about what to do when you leave (left) school, who would you say has been most helpful to you?

TO ALL

72. Now can we talk a little about what you do in your spare time.

Have you ever had a paid part-time job?

Yes	1 ASK a
No	2

(a) What paid part-time jobs have you had?

---

73. Do you spend most of your spare time at home, or do you mostly go out?

Mostly at home	1
Half and half	2
Mostly go out	3

---

74. Now, I would like you to think of the boys you go around with most in your spare time. Could you give me their first names, so that we know who we are talking about? (IF MORE THAN THREE NAMES GIVEN, TAKE FIRST THREE. IF FEWER THAN THREE, PROBE - Anyone else - UP TO THREE).

ASK (a) AND (b) ABOUT EACH OF THREE BOYS NAMES

(a) Is .... still at school, or has he left?

(b) Do you know how old .... was (will be) when he left (leaves) school? (IF YES) How old?

	WHETHER AT SCHOOL OR LEFT		FRIEND'S LEAVING AGE	
FRIEND'S FIRST NAME	AT SCHOOL	LEFT	LEAVING AGE	INFORMANT/ FRIEND D.K.
	1	2		3
	1	2		3
	1	2		3

75. About how much money do you have that you can do what you like with, most weeks?

	Under 4s. 0d.	1
	Between 4s. 0d. and 5s. 11d.	2
	" 6s. 0d. " 9s. 11d.	3
DO NOT	" 10s. 0d. " 14s. 11d.	4
	" 15s 0d. " 19s. 11d.	5
PROMPT	" 20s. 0d. " 29s. 11d.	6
	30s. 0d. or over	7

---

76. Still thinking of this money that you can do what you like with - do you usually save some of it each week, or not?

Yes	1
No	2

---

77. Which of these things do you spend any money on, most weeks? Do you spend any money on -

PROMPT EACH ITEM	YES	NO
(a) Sweets or things to eat and drink	2	1
(b) Going to dances	4	3
(c) Hobbies or pets	6	5
(d) Spares and equipment for a bike or motor-bike	2	1
(e) Cigarettes	4	3
(f) Clothes or shoes	6	5
(g) Juke boxes or fruit machines	2	1
(h) Books, magazines or other things to read	4	3
(i) Taking out girl-friends	6	5
(j) Going to watch or play active sports like football, tennis, table-tennis, swimming, skating and so on	8	7

---

78. That is all I have to ask you - Is there anything else you would like to say about what you are going to do when you leave school?

GOVERNMENT SOCIAL SURVEY

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT STUDY

SS 427

PARENTS OF SCHOOL-LEAVERS

Area number	☐☐	Date	Day ☐	Month ☐
School and person serial number	☐☐☐ ☐☐	Time started	☐	☐
		Time finished	☐	

Interviewer's name ....Auth. No. ☐☐☐

1. I believe (SON) is going to leave school soon.
When does he leave, exactly?

July, 1968	1) ASK a
Other definite date (specify)	2) ASK a
Depends on exam results	5
D.K. (other than precode 5)	6
Other (Specify)	7

IF DEFINITE DATE (1 OR 2)

(a) Do you think this is the right age for (SON) to leave school, or not?

Yes, right age	1
No, not right age	2 ASK i-ii
Depends, etc. (specify)	3

(i) What do you think would be the right age for him to leave?

Age in years ⟶

(ii) Why do you think .... would be the right age for him to leave (to have left)?

---

2. Apart from the school's own internal exams, has (SON) taken any examinations this year, or will he have taken any by the time he leaves school?

Yes, has (will have) taken exams	1 ASK a-b
No, no exams (to be) taken	2
D.K:/Not sure	3

(a) Which examinations has he taken (will he have) taken?

G.C.E.	5
C.S.E.	6
Other (specify)	7

(b) Do you happen to know which subjects (SON) has taken (is taking) at (NAMED EXAMINATION)?

CODE ALL THAT APPLY, BUT DO NOT CODE 1, 2 OR 3 UNLESS SUBJECTS NAMED SPONTANEOUSLY BY INFORMANT

Named G.C.E. subject(s)	1
Named C.S.E. subject(s)	2
Named subject(s) in other exams	3
Unable to name any subjects	4

3. I am going to read out to you some things that parents have said to us about schools nowadays and about leaving school. After each one I would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with what was said or don't have any opinion either way. If you agree or disagree, I would like to know whether you agree or disagree strongly, or just on the whole. Here is a card (CARD 1) with the answers you could give printed on it.

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree strongly
(a) There doesn't seem to be much use in half the things they do in school nowadays.	5	4	3	2	1
(b) If a boy wants to leave school, it's pointless trying to make him stay on.	5	4	3	2	1
(c) Even if a boy isn't good at school, he can still get a good job if he tries.	5	4	3	2	1
(d) It's not worth keeping a boy in school after fifteen unless he's very bright.	5	4	3	2	1
(e) Staying on at school after sixteen is only worth while for boys who are going on to college or university.	5	4	3	2	1

4. Parents sometimes find it rather expensive to keep their son at school after he is fifteen. Do you know of any ways in which parents can get financial help if they would like the boy to stay on after he is 15?

Yes 1 ASK a
No 2

(a) In what ways can they get help?

5. Do you know what (SON) intends to do after he leaves school?

Yes	1 ASK a-b
No	2 ASK c
Son doesn't know himself	3 ASK c

(a) What does he intend to do?

(b) Do you think this is a suitable thing for him to do, or not?

Yes	1
No	2 ASK i
Other (specify)	3 ASK i

(i) What do you think he should do instead?

(c) Do you have any views on what sort of job he should take up?

Yes	1 ASK i
No	2

(i) What sort of job would you like (SON) to take up?

6. Have you ever talked to (SON) about what he is going to do after he leaves school?

Yes	1 ASK a-b
No, never	2

(a) Have you talked to him about this –

RUNNING PROMPT

Many times	5
A few times	6
or just once or twice?	7

(b) How long ago was the last time you talked to him about it? (SPECIFY PERIOD AS PRECISELY AS POSSIBLE)

.... ago

---

7. Have you ever had a serious talk with anybody else about what (SON) is going to do after he leaves school?

Yes	1 ASK a
No, never	2

(a) Who have you talked to?

DO NOT PROMPT

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Wife	1
Other relative(s)(specify)	2
Head-teacher	6
Other teacher (specify function)	7
Member of Y.E.S.	10
Other (specify)	11

---

8. Have you yourself done anything, so far, about arranging something for (SON) to do after he leaves school?

Yes	1 ASK a
No, nothing	2

(a) What have you done?

9. Is there anything that you think a boy about to leave school should do for himself as regards getting a job?

Yes	1	ASK a
Depends (specify)	2	
No, nothing /Up to him what he does	3	

(a) What should he do?

---

10. Is there anybody else, apart from his parents, who you think might be able to help a boy about jobs round about the time he leaves school?

Yes	1	ASK a
No, nobody	2	

(a) Who might be able to help him?

Y.E.O.	1
Careers teacher	2
Head teacher	3
Teacher (not further specified)	4
Friend(s)	5
Other (specify)	6

IF Y.E.O. NOT SO FAR MENTIONED BY INFORMANT

11. Have you ever heard of the Youth Employment Officer (or the (LOCAL TITLE))?

D.N.A.- already mentioned	9
Yes	1
No	2

12. (Earlier on you mentioned someone called the Youth Employment Officer (LOCAL TITLE)) - From what you know, what would you say a Youth Employment Officer (LOCAL TITLE) does?

D.K.	9

---

13. Has (SON) had an interview with a Youth Employment Officer (LOCAL TITLE) - I mean without any other boys present?

Yes	1 ASK a
No	2
Not sure/D.K.	3
	FATHERS GO TO Q.19 P.9 OTHERS GO TO Q.27 P11

(a) How many interviews has (SON) had with a Youth Employment Officer (LOCAL TITLE)?

One only	1
More than one	2
Not sure/D.K.	3

---

14. (Thinking now of the first interview he had -) Were you or your wife (husband) invited beforehand to be present at the interview?

Yes	1
No	2
D.K./Can't remember	3

---

15. Did either of you manage to go to the (first) interview he had with the Y.E.O.?

(IF YES) Which of you?

Informant only present	1) ASK
Both present	2) 16-18
Spouse only present	3)
Neither present	4)
	FATHERS GO TO Q.19 P.9 OTHERS TO TO Q.27 P.11

IF INFORMANT PRESENT AT INTERVIEW (CODE 1 OR 2 AT 15) ASK 16 - 18

16. Was anything said at the interview about jobs for (SON)?

Yes	1 ASK a
No, nothing	2
D.K. can't remember	3

(a) What was said about jobs?

17. What else was said at the interview?

Nothing	9

18. Would you say that the interview was helpful to (SON), or not very helpful?

Helpful	1 ASK a
Helpful in some ways, not in others	2 ASK a-b
Not very helpful	3 ASK b

(a) In what ways was it helpful?

(b) In what ways could it have been more helpful?

ASK 19 - 26 OF FATHERS (OR FATHER SUBSTITUTES) ONLY

19. Now could you tell me a little about your own work experiences since you left school? What was your first job after you left school?

---

20. Can you tell me exactly how you came to get this first job?

---

21. What was your father's occupation at that time?

(IF FATHER NOT WORKING/DEAD AT THAT TIME, PROBE FOR PREVIOUS FULL-TIME JOB/LAST MAIN OCCUPATION)

OCCUPATION

INDUSTRY

---

22. Are you in paid employment for more than 10 hour a week at present?

	Working (more than 10 hours)	1
IF NOT, PROBE STATUS:-	Unemployed	2
	Chronically sick	3
	Retired	4

---

23. What (is your / was your last full-time / was your last main) job?

OCCUPATION

INDUSTRY

(a) Self-employed or employee?

Self-employed	1
Employee	2

IF SELF EMPLOYED OR MANAGERIAL

(i) Number of employees in establishment ....

24. Apart from National Service or War Service, have you had any occupation since you were twenty-one years of age, other than being in/a (PRESENT OCCUPATION)?

Yes	1 ASK (a)
No	2

(a) What was your last occupation before this one?

OCCUPATION

INDUSTRY

---

25. Have there been any times in your life when you have been unemployed and unable to find a job for as much as a month or more?

Yes	1 ASK (a) & (b)
No	2

(a) How many times has this happened to you?
Number ....

(b) How long ago was that (the last time)?

---

26. Thinking back over (all) the job(s) you've had since you left school, do you feel that you've made the best of yourself from an employment point of view, or do you feel that you could have done better if you had acted differently in some way?

Made best of self	1
Could have done better	2 ASK (a) & (b)

(a) In what ways do you think you should have acted differently?

(b) In what ways do you think you would have improved your employment prospects if you had acted in this way?

TO ALL

27. (As you know) After a boy leaves school one of the things he can do is try for some sort of training or apprenticeship. People have differing opinions about whether this is worthwhile or not. Here are some things people have said on the subject. Could you tell me which of the answers on the card comes nearest to what you think in each case? (CARD 1)

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree strongly
(a) People make too much fuss about training and apprenticeships - if a boy is happy in his job, that's all that matters.	5	4	3	2	1
(b) Once you have served an apprenticeship, your chances of earning good money are much better.	5	4	3	2	1
(c) If you haven't got a skill or a training, people can push you around.	5	4	3	2	1
(d) Apprenticeships are often just a way of getting cheap labour.	5	4	3	2	1
(e) You've got no security unless you've served an apprenticeship or had a proper training.	5	4	3	2	1
(f) A boy who leaves school at sixteen nowadays still needs training if he wants to get anywhere	5	4	3	2	1

28. People have differing opinions and ideas about work and jobs. I would like to read out to you some things that people have said to us on this subject. Could you let me know what your opinion is in each case by giving one of the answers on the card (CARD 1)?

	Agree Stongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
(a) A boy should always choose a job that will lead on to a better job.	5	4	3	2	1
(b) If you get bored with the job you're doing, you should pack it up and try something else	5	4	3	2	1
(c) It's natural for people to prefer what they do in their spare time to what they do at work.	5	4	3	2	1
(d) Getting a good job depends on luck more than anything else.	5	4	3	2	1
(e) The thing to aim at is a job where you're telling others what to do, instead of them telling you.	5	4	3	2	1
(f) Nine people out of ten wouldn't work if they didn't have to.	5	4	3	2	1
(g) When all's said and done, the most important thing about any job is the pay.	5	4	3	2	1
(h) Getting a good job depends on who you know, not what you know.	5	4	3	2	1

29. I have here a set of cards. Each card has written on it a thing that some parents have said a boy should look for in a job. First, I would like you to read what is on each card. (HAND CARDS 2a-m)

Now could you pick out the card that has written on it the thing which you think is most important for a boy to look for in a job?

WRITE "1" IN COLUMN OPPOSITE ITEM SELECTED

Now pick out the card that has written on it the thing that you think is next most important for a boy to look for in a job.

WRITE "2" IN COLUMN OPPOSITE ITEM SELECTED

REPEAT QUESTION UP TO RANK 6, THEN STOP.

	RANK
(a) Work that is not too difficult	
(b) Friendly people to work with	
(c) Being able to take a pride in your work	
(d) Not being ordered about all the time	
(e) Learning a trade or getting a good training	
(f) A good chance of being promoted	
(g) A steady job	
(h) Working near home	
(i) Work that is not all routine	
(j) A job where you don't get dirty	
(k) A chance to travel	
(l) Good pay	
(m) Working hours that are not too long	

30. I have here a card, which I'd like you to read, with a list of jobs that boys may get when they leave school.
(HAND CARD 3 AND WAIT TILL INFORMANT HAS READ IT THROUGH)
Most people would say that some of those jobs are better than average for boys to get, some are average sort of jobs and some are worse than average. However, everyone has his own opinion about which jobs are the better ones, and which are the worse ones. I am going to read out the jobs on the list one by one, and I would like you to tell me whether each one sounds to you like a better than average job, an average sort of job or a worse than average job for a boy to get.

	Q.30				Q.31
	BETTER THAN AVERAGE	AVERAGE	WORSE THAN AVERAGE	D.K. CAN'T SAY	WOULD NOT ALLOW
(a) Junior salesman in a shop selling clothes	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Machine operator in a factory making nuts and bolts	1	2	3	4	5
(c) Junior accounts clerk, sending out bills and making up accounts	1	2	3	4	5
(d) Van boy, delivering things	1	2	3	4	5
(e) Assistant in a chemical laboratory learning to do tests and experiments	1	2	3	4	5
(f) Trainee draughtsman, learning to draw plans and blue-prints	1	2	3	4	5
(g) Farm worker, handling animals and farm tools and machinery	1	2	3	4	5
(h) Apprentice joiner, learning to put doors and woodwork in buildings	1	2	3	4	5
(i) Labourer on a building site, making cement and carrying things about	1	2	3	4	5
(j) Boy soldier, training for the regular army	1	2	3	4	5

31. Are there any jobs on the card that you would not allow a son of yours to take, even if he couldn't get anything else? (IF SO) which ones are those? (CODE IN RIGHT-HAND COLUMN ABOVE)

32. (a) What sorts of things do you do in your spare time (outside working hours)?
(LIST ACTIVITIES NOT PRECODED AND CODE ALL MENTIONED IN "PARENT" COLUMN).

(b) How about (SON) - does he often do any of these things with you?

Yes	1 ASK i
No, none of them	2

(i) Which are the things that he often does with you? (CODE IN "SON" COLUMN)

DO NOT PROMPT

	(a) PARENT	(b)i SON
Watching sport (not on T.V.)	1	1
Playing sport	2	2
Gardening	3	3
Watching T.V./listening to radio	4	4
Going to films, plays, concerts	5	5
Reading	6	6
Decorating/jobs about the house/do-it-yourself	7	7
Car maintenance/repairs	8	8

OTHER ACTIVITIES

	(a) PARENT	(b)i SON	OFF. USE	

33. Do you ever like to read when you have time to relax? (You mentioned that you sometimes read –)

Yes	1 ASK (a)
No	2

(a) What sorts of things do you like to read? Do you like to read –

PROMPT.
CODE ALL
THAT APPLY

Newspapers or magazines?	1
Novels or stories? (INCLUDE POETRY AND DRAMA)........................	2
Non-fiction books, like biographies or technical books...	3

34. How about your wife (husband) – does she (he) ever like to read when she (he) has time to relax?

Yes	1 ASK (a)
No/no time to relax	2

(a) What sorts of things does she (he) like to read? Does she (he) read –

PROMPT
CODE ALL
THAT APPLY

Newspapers or magazines?..........	1
Novels or stories?(INCLUDE POETRY AND DRAMA)......................	2
Non-fiction books, like biographies or technical books..	3

35. How much do you see of (SON) these days – is he usually around when you are at home, or usually out?

Usually around	1
Usually out	2
Other answers (specify)	3

36. How often do you have a real talk with (SON) these days – I mean more than just a few words in passing? Would you say it happens –

almost every day	1
at least once a week	2
just now and then	3
or hardly ever?	4
other answers (specify)	5

CLASSIFICATION

I Household Composition

IF THERE IS NO PARENT (OR SUBSTITUTE) OF THE SEX INDICATED IN THE HOUSEHOLD, RING "NONE" ON THE LINE CONCERNED.

NOTE THAT THE RELATIONSHIP IS TO THE BOY, NOT TO INFORMANT.

Person No. Ring HOH	Relationship to boy ALWAYS COMPLETE LINES 2 and 3	OFF. USE	SEX		Age last birthday	Marital Status			Working/Education Status			
						M	S	W/D/S	Full-time working	Part-time working	Full-time education	None of these
1	Boy		Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
2	Mother 1 None X		Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
3	Father 2 None Y		Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
4			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
5			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
6			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
7			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
8			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
9			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
10			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
11			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
12			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8

II Brothers and sisters of boy not (now) members of household (INCLUDE STEP BROTHERS AND SISTERS AND ADOPTEES)

	DNA = None......0											
13			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
14			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
15			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
16			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
17			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
18			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
19			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
20			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
21			Y	X		1	2	3	5	6	7	8

OFFICE USE ONLY

Total number of children in HOUSEHOLD not yet attending school or still in full-time education →

(N.B. - INCLUDE SELECTED CHILD IF STILL IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION)

(a) Total number of children in family →

(b) Position of selected boy in family →

(ENTER AS NUMBER, E.G. 1 FOR FIRST, ETC.)

III Occupation and industry of FATHER (where not already asked) MOTHER AND BROTHERS (NOT SISTERS) of sample boy (whether members of household or not), if these are working part-time or full-time (USE PERSON NUMBERS ASSIGNED ON PAGE 17).

Person No.	OCCUPATION		INDUSTRY	OFF. USE
2 (MOTHER)	DNA - Not working ...	99		
3 (FATHER)	Already asked........	88		

IV Type of Dwelling

Whole house - detached	1
- semi-detached ... (inc. prefab.)	2
- terrace	3
Flat/Maisonette-self-contained	4
Rooms	5
Caravan	6
Other (specify)	7

V Number of bedrooms household has (INCLUDE BEDSITTER) ⟶

VI Ownership of Dwelling

Owned by household or being bought	1
Rented	2
Rent free	3

IF ANY OTHER SONS OR DAUGHTERS IN FAMILY (WHETHER MEMBERS OF HOUSEHOLD OR NOT) ASK VII AND VIII

DNA - No brothers or sisters aged 11 or over 0

VII Education of selected boy's brothers and sisters

Are any of ....'s brothers or sisters at, or have they been to any of the following schools:-

PROMPT	YES	NO	DK.
Secondary Modern, Junior Secondary, Non-grammar Church School or All Age School?	1	2	3
Comprehensive, Bilateral or Multilateral Schools	1	2	3
Technical School?	1	2	3
State Grammar, Technical Grammar, County High or Senior Secondary School?	1	2	3
Direct Grant, Private Grammar or Public (fee-paying) School?	1	2	3
Any other private fee-paying school?	1	2	3
Any other type of school (specify)?	1	2	3

VIII Are any of ....'s brothers or sisters at, or have they been to places of further education, such as:-

	YES	NO	DK.
Technical College, College of Commerce or College of Further Education?	1	2	3
Teacher Training College/College of Education	1	2	3
University	1	2	3
Any other type of college (specify)?	1	2	3

IX At what age did you (your wife/husband) finish your full-time (continuous) formal education?

*HERE AND IN REMAINDER OF SCHEDULE "FATHER" AND "MOTHER" STAND FOR REAL PARENT OR SUBSTITUTE IN THIS HOUSEHOLD

	* (a) FATHER	* (b) MOTHER
14 and under	..... 1 ...	 1
15 but under 16	..... 2 ...	 2
16 but under 17	..... 3 ...	 3
17 but under 18	..... 4 ...	 4
18 and over	..... 5 ...	 5
D.K.	..... 6 ...	 6

X What type of school or educational institution did you (your wife/husband) attend for your last full-time formal education?

	(a) FATHER	(b) MOTHER
Secondary modern/elementary/non-grammar Church/ All-age/Village/Junior Secondary	..... 1 ...	 1
Post 1947 Comprehensive/Bilateral/Multilateral School	..... 2 ...	 2
Pre-1947 Central/Intermediate/higher grade school ..	..... 3 ...	 3
Technical School	..... 4 ...	 4
State Grammar/County High/Senior Secondary Technical Grammar School	..... 5 ...	 5
Private Grammar/Direct Grant/Public (fee-paying) school	..... 6 ...	 6
Any other private fee-paying school or college (e.g. Greggs, Pitmans etc) (up to and including age 18).	..... 7 ...	 7
All Foreign schools including Eire (up to and including age of 18)	..... 8 ...	 8
Other school (specify, including whether state or private)	..... 9 ...	 9
Technical College/College of Commerce/College of Further Education	.... 10 ...	 10
Teacher training College/College of Education	.... 11 ...	 11
University	.... 12 ...	 12
Any other college (specify)	.... 13 ...	 13
D.K. type of institution	.... 14 ...	 14

XI Have you (Has your wife) passed any examinations or obtained any educational qualifications or apprenticeships?

CODE ALL THAT APPLY	(a) FATHER	(b) MOTHER
No qualifications obtained	1	1
University Degree or Diploma, full Medical/Dental/Veterinary qualifications or Diploma in Technology	2	2
Full Membership of a professional institution or full professional qualification (includes barrister, solicitor, architect) SPECIFY	3	3
Teachers Certificate/Certificate of Education	4	4
Nursing qualification (SRN, SCM etc)	5	5
Higher National Diploma (HND) or Certificate (HNC)	6	6
GCE "A" Levels, Higher School Certificate, Inter-Arts or Science, Higher Scottish Certificate of Education/Scottish Leaving Certificate (Higher), Attestation of Fitness (Scotland)	7	7
GCE "O" Levels, School Certificate, Matriculation, Scottish Certificate of Education (Ordinary)/ Scottish Leaving Certificate (Lower)	8	8
Ordinary National Diploma (OND) or Certificate ONC, City and Guilds (any level/type), RSA, Commercial or Trade Certificates, Forces Educational Certificates	9	9
Full apprenticeship completed	10	10
Any other qualifications - including intermediate or not fully completed qualifications. SPECIFY	11	11
D.K. if obtained any qualifications	12	12

XII In whose name is this house owned or rented?

Father	X
Other person (give no. from h/hold box) →	

XIII NET INCOME (Standard - i.e. after compulsory deductions but including wages or salary overtime, private means, family allowance and Pension)

SHOW CARD 4

ALWAYS COMPLETE BOTH COLUMNS EVEN IF (A) AND (B) ARE THE SAME

Last week	Per annum	(A) FATHER OR HOH	(B) TOTAL INCOME OF HOUSEHOLD
Up to £10	(Up to £520)	1	1
Over £10 to £12. 10...	(Over £520 to £650)	2	2
Over £12. 10 to £15...	(Over £650 to £780)	3	3
Over £15 to £20	(Over £780 to £1040)	4	4
Over £20 to £25	(Over £1040 to £1300)	5	5
Over £25 to £30	(Over £1300 to £1560)	6	6
Over £30	(Over £1560)	7	7
D.K.		8	8
Refusal		9	9
	OFF. USE		

XIV Is there anything else that you would like to say about (SON) leaving school or getting a job?

Yes	1 ASK a
No, nothing	2

(a) What would you like to say?

ITEMS A-D TO BE COMPLETED BY THE INTERVIEWER AFTER THE END OF THE INTERVIEW

A. What was the relationship of the informant to the boy in our sample?

Natural father	1
Natural mother	2
Other (specify)	3

IF NATURAL FATHER NOT INTERVIEWED, GIVE REASON

Father dead	1
Other (specify)	2

B. Apart from yourself and the informant, was anyone else (a) in the room (b) within earshot during all or part of the interview? If so, who?

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

	(a) IN ROOM	(b) WITHIN EARSHOT
No, nobody	1	1
Informant's spouse	2	2
Sample boy	3	3
Other (specify)	4	4

C. Apart from yourself and the informant, did any other persons intervene in the interview? (IF SO, PLEASE DESCRIBE THESE INTERVENTIONS).

No, nobody	9

D. Were there any other circumstances which you feel seriously affected the rapport or validity of the interview? (IF SO, PLEASE DESCRIBE)

No, none	9

GOVERNMENT SOCIAL SURVEY

SS 427

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT STUDY
HEAD TEACHERS SCHEDULE

Area No.	☐☐	Date of interview	Day ☐ Month ☐
School No.	☐☐☐	Time started	☐
Teacher No.	0 0 1	Time finished	☐

Name of interviewer................................ Auth. No. ☐☐☐

1. First, can I ask you a few questions about the way this school is organized. During the last five years, has there been any change in the organization of secondary education in this Local Education Authority Area which has affected this school?

Yes	1	ASK a
No	2	

(a) Could you tell me briefly in what ways the organization and intake of the school have changed over the last five years as a result of these changes in secondary education?

2. What is the average age at which pupils enter their first year at this school?

Age.........years

---

3. About how many boys, on average, leave this school each year during or at the end of their fourth year of secondary education? (IF IN DOUBT, CHECK - Would you say it was more than two boys a year, on average, or less?)

All leave (i.e. there are no 5th year boys at school)	1
More than two (i.e. some boys leave, some stay on)	2
Two or less (i.e. (almost) all boys stay on to 5th year)	3 GO TO Q5

---

4. Into how many different classes are boys in their fourth year at this school divided?

Number.........

(a) What are the names of these classes? (WRITE IN COLUMN (a) OPPOSITE).

IF ALL BOYS LEAVE (CODE 1 AT Q.3) ASK (c) ABOUT EACH CLASS NAMED
IF SOME BOYS LEAVE, SOME STAY ON (CODE 2 AT Q.3) ASK (b) AND (WHERE APPLICABLE) (c) ABOUT EACH CLASS NAMED.

(b) About what proportion of boys in (CLASS NAME) normally stay on into their fifth year - would you say it was all of them, over half of them, under half of them, or none of them? (CODE IN COLUMN (b)).

IF NOT ALL (CODES 2 - 4) AT (b), ASK (c)

(c) Is the course pursued by boys in (CLASS NAME) specially adapted in any way to the needs of fourth year leavers, or not?

IF SPECIALLY ADAPTED (CODE 1 AT (c)), ASK (i)

(i) In what way is the course specially adapted to the needs of fourth year leavers?

(a)	(b)	(c)	(c) i
Name of class	Proportion of boys staying on	Is course specially adapted	Ways in which course is specially adapted to needs of 4th year leavers
	All.........1 Over $\frac{1}{2}$......2 Under $\frac{1}{2}$.....3 None........4	Yes, specially adapted.....1 ASK (i) No, not specially adapted.....2	
	All.........1 Over $\frac{1}{2}$......2 Under $\frac{1}{2}$.....3 None........4	Yes, specially adapted.....1 ASK (i) No, not specially adapted.....2	
	All.........1 Over $\frac{1}{2}$......2 Under $\frac{1}{2}$.....3 None........4	Yes, specially adapted.....1 ASK (i) No, not specially adapted.....2	
	All.........1 Over $\frac{1}{2}$......2 Under $\frac{1}{2}$.....3 None........4	Yes, specially adapted.....1 ASK (i) No, not specially adapted.....2	
	All.........1 Over $\frac{1}{2}$......2 Under $\frac{1}{2}$.....3 None........4	Yes, specially adapted.....1 ASK (i) No, not specially adapted.....2	

IF ANY FIFTH YEAR BOYS AT SCHOOL - CODES 2-3 AT Q.3 - ASK Q5-6

5. Can we turn now to boys in their fifth year at this school. Are all fifth year boys normally expected to sit external examinations such as GCE, CSE or RSA?

Yes, all 1
No, not all 2 ASK a-b

(a) In which fifth year classes are the boys who are not expected to sit external examinations?

(b) What are the main aims of the course of studies followed by boys in (CLASSES MENTIONED) who are not expected to sit external examinations?

---

6. Apart from aiming at academic qualifications, are any of the (remaining) fifth year courses at this school specially adapted in any way to the needs of boys who are going to leave school at the end of their fifth year?

Yes 1 ASK a-b
No 2

(a) To which fifth year classes does this apply?

(b) In what ways is the course pursued by these classes specially adapted to the needs of fifth year leavers?

ASK ALL

7. Can we talk now about ways of providing careers help for boys who leave this school in their fourth (and fifth) years - that is, help in choosing a career or in obtaining a suitable job.
Do you feel that this school and its staff should play any part in providing careers help for these boys, or not?

Yes	1
Depends (specify)	2
No	3 GO TO Q13 P.8

---

8. In which fourth and fifth year classes are the boys who you think should be given careers help by the school and its staff?

All 4th and 5th year classes	1 ASK b
Other (specify names of classes)	2 ASK a-b

(a) For what reasons do you think that boys in these classes need careers help from the school more than the rest?

(b) At what point in these boys' school course do you think the school should start giving them careers help?

9. What are the main types of careers help which you think this school should provide for the boys you have mentioned?

10. I have here a short list of types of careers help which schools sometimes provide. I would like to check whether or not you think this school should provide any of these types of help for the boys you have mentioned. (What we are interested in is the policy which you feel the school should pursue as regards careers help.)

On the whole, do you think this school should provide -	Whether school should provide	
	YES	NO
Opportunities for boys to consult a member of staff about careers if they wish to do so?	0	1
Consultation as standard practice between all boys intending to leave and a member of staff able to advise on careers?	2	3
Regular lessons on careers and related topics as part of the normal school timetable?	4	5
Occasional visits in school time to places of work, so that boys can see for themselves what employment is like?	6	7
Occasional talks in school time, by outside speakers, on different types of careers and different fields of employment?	8	9

11. So far as fourth year boys at this school are concerned, would you say that the giving of careers help or advice in some form was a very important part, a fairly important part or only a minor part of the school's function?

Very important	1
Fairly important	2
Only minor	3
Other (specify)	4

IF ANY FIFTH YEAR BOYS AT SCHOOL - CODES 2 - 3 AT Q.3

DNA - no fifth year	9

12. So far as fifth year boys at this school are concerned, would you say that the giving of careers help or advice in some form was a very important part, a fairly important part or only a minor part of the school's function?

Very important	1
Fairly important	2
Only minor	3
Other (specify)	4

13. Are there any teachers at this school who are officially responsible for giving careers help to boys, or not?

Yes	1 ASK a-d
No, none	2

(a) How many such teachers are there?

Number ⟶

(b) What are their names? (What is his/her name?)
(RECORD NAMES IN COLUMN (b) BELOW)

ASK (c) - (d) ABOUT EACH TEACHER NAMED

(c) Does .... have any other teaching responsibilities besides his (her) careers responsibilities? (RING CODE IN COLUMN (c) BELOW)

IF HAS OTHER TEACHING RESPONSIBILITIES - CODE 1 - ASK (c):

(i) Does (TEACHER) teach about the same number of periods in non-careers subjects as other staff, or is his (her) teaching load made lighter in view of his (her) careers responsibilities? (CODE IN COL(c)i)

(d) Does (TEACHER) hold a graded post or receive a special responsibility allowance, or not? (CODE IN COL. (d)).

IF TEACHER HOLDS GRADED POST ETC. - CODE 1 - ASK (i):

(i) Was this graded post (special responsibility allowance) assigned to (TEACHER) - wholly on the basis of his (her) careers responsibility, wholly on the basis of his (her) other responsibilities or on the basis of both careers and other responsibilities, considered jointly?

(b)	(c)		(c)i		(d)		(d)i		
TEACHER'S NAME	OTHER TEACHING RESPONSIBILITIES		TEACHING LOAD IN OTHER SUBJECTS		GRADED POST OR SPECIAL ALLOWANCE		ON WHAT BASIS GRADED POST ETC. ASSIGNED		
	YES	NO	SAME	LIGHTER	YES	NO	WHOLLY CAREERS	WHOLLY OTHER	BOTH JOINTLY
	1	2	6	7	1	2	6	7	8
	1	2	6	7	1	2	6	7	8
	1	2	6	7	1	2	6	7	8
	1	2	6	7	1	2	6	7	8
	1	2	6	7	1	2	6	7	8

14. (Apart from the(se) official careers teacher(s)) are there any (other) teachers who take an active part in careers work as such with boys at this school?

Yes	1 ASK (a)
No, none	2

(a) What are their names?

---

15. On this survey, as you know, we are concerned with boys in their fourth and fifth years of secondary education. Of all the teachers you have mentioned, which ones do any careers work of any kind with boys in their fourth year? (IF MORE THAN ONE NAME GIVEN) Which of these teachers does most careers work with boys in their fourth year? (UNDERLINE NAME)

FOURTH YEAR BOYS CAREERS TEACHERS (NAMES)

....

....

....

....

....

IF ANY FIFTH YEAR BOYS AT SCHOOL - CODES 2 - 3 AT Q.3 - ASK Q16

DNA - No fifth year	9

16. Of all the teachers you have mentioned, which ones do any careers work with boys in their fifth year? (IF MORE THAN ONE NAME GIVEN) Which of these teachers does most careers work with boys in their fifth year? (UNDERLINE NAME)

FIFTH YEAR BOYS CAREERS TEACHERS (NAMES)

....

....

....

....

....

ASK ALL

17. Thinking of boys who are going to leave in their fourth and fifth years - do you, personally, ever play any part in helping these boys as regards careers?

Yes, play some part	1 ASK (a)
No, play no part	2

(a) What part do you play?

---

18. Can we talk now about the contacts this school has with the local Youth Employment Service. About how often does a members of the Youth Employment Service visit the school in the course of a year? Would you say it was, on average -

RUNNING PROMPT	at least once a week	4
	at least once a fortnight	3
	about once or twice a term	2
	or less than once or twice a term?	1

19. Now as regards yourself - about how often do you, personally, see or speak on the telephone to a member of the Youth Employment Service? Would you say it was on average -

	at least once a week	5)
RUNNING	at least once a fortnight	4)
PROMPT	about once or twice a term	3) ASK (a)
	or less than once or twice a term?	2)
	Never	1

(a) Under what circumstances do you, personally, have direct contacts with members of the Youth Employment Service?

20. Do any of your staff ever have direct contacts, while on school premises, with members of the Youth Employment Service?

Yes	1 ASK a-b
No	2

(a) Which members of your staff have such contacts? (NAMES AND FUNCTIONS IF POSSIBLE)

All of them	1

(b) Under what circumstances do these (does this) member(s) of your staff have direct contacts with the Youth Employment Service?

21. Are there any ways in which you think the careers help provided by the Youth Employment Service for boys in their fourth and fifth years at this school could be improved?

	Yes	1 ASK (a)
	No	2

(a) In what ways could it be improved?

---

22. Finally, I would like to ask you one question about the sort of backgrounds from which pupils at this school come. Here is a card (GIVE CARD 5) on which are printed examples of occupations falling into four broad classes - professional and managerial, clerical, skilled manual and semi or unskilled manual. When you have studied it, I would like you to estimate what percentage of the fathers of pupils at this school fall into each of the four occupational classes named.

Professional and managerial	.... %
Clerical	.... %
Skilled manual	.... %
Semi and unskilled manual	.... %
=	100 %

CLASSIFICATION (Introduce)

23. How long have you been a teacher, altogether?

(Years) ⟶

24. How long have you been a headmaster?

(Years) ⟶

25. How long have you been headmaster of this school?

(Years) ⟶

26. Have you ever had any other full-time occupation, apart from school-teaching?

	Yes	1 ASK (a)
	No	2

(a) What other full-time occupations have you had?

27. That is all I have to ask you. Is there anything else that you would like to say about careers work with boys in their fourth or fifth years at this school?

	Yes	1 ASK (a)
	No, nothing	2

(a) What is it?

GOVERNMENT SOCIAL SURVEY

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SURVEY SS427

SCHOOL DETAILS.

Area number ☐☐

School number ☐☐☐

Interviewer's name .... Auth. No ☐☐☐

---

1. What is the total number of pupils on the school roll at present?

Number ....

2. Is this school mixed, or boys only? (please tick box)

☐ Mixed
☐ Boys only

3. (IF MIXED SCHOOL)
What is the total number of boys on the school roll at present?

Number ....

4. How many pupils were admitted to the first year in September 1967?

Number ....

5. Into how many classes is the first year intake divided?

Number ....

6. What is the total number of full-time qualified teaching staff at this school?

Number ....

7. How many pupils at this school are at present receiving free school meals?

Number ....

8. What was the overall pupil attendance rate of this school for the academic year September 1966 - September 1967 (that is, the total number of actual half-day attendances as a percentage of the total number of possible half-day attendances)?

...............%

If no precise figure is available, please estimate here

............%E

The object of the next two questions is to discover how many boys in their fourth (Question 9) and fifth (Question 10) years of secondary education left the school, during the academic year 1966-67, in order to take up employment.

Write number here

9. (a) How many boys entered their FOURTH year of secondary education at the commencement of Autumn Term 1966? *.........

(b) Of the boys who entered their FOURTH year at the commencement of Autumn Term 1966*, how many were still at the school at the commencement of Autumn Term 1967? ....

(c) Of the boys who entered their FOURTH year at the commencement of Autumn Term 1966*, how many left the school before the commencement of Autumn Term 1967 in order to continue their full-time education elsewhere? ....

---

10. (a) How many boys entered their Fifth year of secondary education at the commencement of Autumn Term 1966*? ....

(b) Of the boys who entered their FIFTH year at the commencement of Autumn Term 1966*, how many were still at the school at the commencement of Autumn Term 1967? ....

(c) Of the boys who entered their FIFTH year at the commencement of Autumn Term 1966*, how many left the school before the commencement of Autumn Term 1967 in order to continue their full-time education elsewhere? ....

*NOTE PLEASE DO NOT COUNT ANY BOYS WHO BEGAN TO REPEAT THEIR FOURTH OR FIFTH YEAR IN AUTUMN 1966.

The last two questions concern subject-entries at external examinations this term by boys at this school and numbers of boys entering these examinations.

11. Please write in the spaces provided the total number of entries* by boys at this school this term at each of the following examinations:-

	TOTAL NUMBER OF ENTRIES*
GCE "A" Level	
GCE "O" Level	
CSE	
RSA	
Please write in here the	
names of other external	
examinations sat this year	
by boys at this school, ...	
together with the total	
number of entries at each	

*DEFINITION OF "TOTAL NUMBER OF ENTRIES". If, for example, four boys were entered for GCE "A" level in 3, 1, 4 and 2 subjects respectively, the number written in should be 10 (i.e. 3+1+4+2).

---

12. Please write in the spaces provided the total numbers of boys* at this school who this term were entered for:-

	TOTAL NUMBER OF BOYS*
GCE "O" Level (in one or more subjects) only	
CSE (in one or more subjects) only	
Both GCE "O" Level and CSE (each in one or more subjects)	

*NOTE Please do not count any boys who were re-sitting the examination(s) concerned.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP IN COMPLETING THIS FORM. PLEASE COULD YOU RETURN IT TO OUR INTERVIEWER.

GOVERNMENT SOCIAL SURVEY

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT STUDY SS 427

CAREERS TEACHERS SCHEDULE

Area Number				Date of interview		
School Serial Number				Time begun		
Teacher Serial Number	0	0		Time finished		

Interviewer's Name .... Auth. No. ☐☐☐

1. On this survey we are interested in careers work done with boys who are going to leave school at either fifteen or sixteen years of age and I would like to ask you about careers work with each of these groups.

(a) First of all, could you outline briefly the careers work that you personally do with boys who are going to leave at fifteen?

(b) Could you outline briefly the careers work that you do with boys who are going to leave at sixteen?

2. Why do you think it was that you, rather than some other member of staff, were singled out to take on this careers responsibility with these boys?

---

3. Are there any other teachers in this school besides yourself, who do careers work with boys who are going to leave at either fifteen or sixteen?

Yes	1	ASK a–c
No	2	

(IF YES ASK (a) – (c)

a) How many other teachers are there who do careers work with these boys?

Number ....

b) What are their names?

c) What do they do by way of careers work with boys in each of these age groups?

i) 15 year olds	
ii) 16 year olds	

4. Into how many teaching periods is the week divided at this school?

Number of periods →

---

5. Apart from your careers work, which subjects do you teach at present?

Full-time careers teacher	1 GO TO Q.7
Teaches (specify subjects)	2 ASK Q.6

I would like to get an idea of how your time is divided up, in an average week, between your careers work and your other responsibilities.

6. For how many periods a week, in all, do you teach (NON-CAREERS SUBJECTS MENTIONED AT Q.5)?

Number of periods →

(a) Would you say this was more, less, or about the same as the average teaching load for full-time staff at this school?

More	3
Less	1
Same	2
DK	0

(b) In an average week, roughly how many periods would you say you spend on careers teaching, careers guidance or any other activities connected with careers?

Number of periods →

---

7. Do you ever find that careers work, or activities connected with careers, are taking up time during your lunch-hour, or outside school hours?

Yes	1 ASK a
No	2

(a) Does this happen regularly each week, or just occasionally, or what?

Regularly each week	1
Just occasionally	2
Other (specify)	3

Now can we talk in a little more detail about the careers work which is done in this school?

8. Do any boys at this school have careers lessons of any kind, in the classroom, as part of their regular school timetable?

Yes	1	ASK a-b
No	2	

(a) Which classes have careers lessons? (SPECIFY SCHOOL YEAR AND CLASS OR STREAM IN COLUMN (a) BELOW).

ASK (b) ABOUT EACH CLASS WHICH HAS CAREERS LESSONS

(b) What are the main topics which (CLASS NAME) cover in their careers lessons? (WRITE IN COLUMN (b) BELOW).

(a)	(b)
NAME OF CLASS	CAREERS TOPICS COVERED

9. (Apart from ordinary classroom instruction), are any (other) activities or functions connected with careers organized for boys who attend this school?

Yes	1	ASK a-d
No, none	2	GO TO Q.10

(a) What activities or functions are these? (CODE ACTIVITIES VOLUNTEERED IN COLUMN (a))

(b) PROMPT REMAINDER AND CODE IN COLUMN (b)) How about -?

ASK (c)-(d) ABOUT EACH ACTIVITY CODED IN EITHER COLUMN.

(c) Who usually organizes - (ACTIVITY OR FUNCTION)? (CODE ALL THAT APPLY).

(d) In which classes are the boys who attend (ACTIVITY OR FUNCTION)?

(SPECIFY SCHOOL YEAR AND STREAM OR CLASS IN COLUMN (d)).

	(a)	(b)	(c)				(d)
NATURE OF FUNCTION OR ACTIVITY	Spontaneous	Prompted	Who organizes?				Which boys attend?
			Self	Other Teach.	YEO etc.	Other (specify)	
(i) Careers conventions or exhibitions	Y	X	1	2	3	4	
(ii) Film shows	Y	X	1	2	3	4	
(iii) Outside speakers from business or industry (other than careers convent.	Y	X	1	2	3	4	
(iv) Outside speakers from the Armed Forces or Police	Y	X	1	2	3	4	
(v) Visits to place of work	Y	X	1	2	3	4	
(vi) Talks or interviews by Youth Employment Staff.	Y	X	1	2	3	4	
(vii) Other (specify)	Y		1	2	3	4	

10. We have been talking so far about class and large-group activities. Do you ever talk to fourth year leavers individually, or in small groups of two or three, about their future careers?

Yes	1 ASK a-b
No	2
No 4th year leavers	0

(a) Do you ask to see them, or do they ask to see you, or how else does it happen that you see fourth year leavers in this way to discuss their future careers?

Boy asks	1
Teacher asks	2
Sometimes boy, sometimes teacher	3
Other (specify)	4

(b) Do you generally manage to talk to every fourth year leaver individually, or in a small group of two or three, or only to some of them?

All	1
Some only	2 ASK i

(i) What determines whether you talk to a particular boy, or not?

11. How about *fifth* year leavers - do you ever talk to *them* individually (or in small groups of two or three) about their future careers?

Yes	1 ASK a - b
No	2
No 5th year leavers	0

(a) Do you ask to see them, or do they ask to see you, or how else does it happen that you see fifth year leavers in this way to discuss their future careers?

Boy asks	1
Teacher asks	2
Sometimes boy, sometimes teacher	3
Other (specify)	4

(b) Do you generally manage to talk to *every fifth* year leaver individually, or in a small group of two or three, or only to some of them?

All	1
Some only	2 ASK i

(i) What determines whether you talk to a particular boy, or not?

12. Do parents of individual boys ever come to see you, personally, about their sons' future career?

Yes	1 Ask a
No	2

(a) Thinking now of the fourth and fifth year boys who are leaving school this year - in roughly what percentage of cases have you, personally, spoken to one or both parents about the boy's future career?

.........%

---

13. Are parents ever invited to the school, either individually or in groups, in order to discuss their sons' future career with you or with other members of staff?

Yes	1 Ask a-c
No, never	2

(a) In what circumstances, or on what occasions, are they invited? [CODE IN COLUMN (a) BELOW]
[ASK (b) AND (c) ABOUT GROUP INVITATIONS ONLY]

(b) In which classes are the boys whose parents are invited to (NAMED EVENT)? [WRITE IN COLUMN (b) BELOW]

(c) During which year of the boys' school career does (EVENT) to which his parents can come take place?
[CODE ALL THAT APPLY IN COLUMN (c)]

[DO NOT PROMPT]	(a)	(b)	(c)
OCCASION OF INVITATION		WHICH BOYS' PARENTS INVITED	SCHOOL YEAR NO.
School Speech Day	1		1 2 3 4 5
Careers Convention	2		1 2 3 4 5
Parents' Meeting called to explain choice of school courses	3		1 2 3 4 5
Other group invitation (specify)	4		1 2 3 4 5
YEO interview	5		
Other individual invitation (specify) →	6		

14. Now can we talk about the Youth Employment Service. I am going to mention a number of ways in which school careers teachers can come into contact with members of the Youth Employment Service. After each one, I would like you to tell me whether you yourself have had this sort of contact with the Y.E.S. during the present school term, or not.

Have you	YES	NO
(a) Attended careers functions or activities organized by the Y.E.S. outside the school ?	1	2
(b) Organized careers functions or activities in co-operation with the Y.E.S., either inside or outside the school ?	1	2
(c) Completed and returning "Y15's", or other forms used by the Y.E.S. ?	1	2
(d) "Sat in" while a member of the Y.E.S. interviews individual boys at the school ?	1	2
During the present term have you...... (e) Discussed individual boys with a member of the Y.E.S. who has come to the school to carry out Y.E. interviews with the boys concerned ?	1	2
(f) Discussed individual boys at other personal meetings with a member of the Y.E.S. ?	1	2
(g) Discussed individual boys with a member of the Y.E.S. by telephone ?	1	2

(h) Have you had any other sorts of contact with the Youth Employment Service this term?

	Yes	1 ASK (i)
	No, none	0
IF YES (i) What other contacts have you had with the Y.E.S.?		

15. Now, as regards boys at this school - during which school year do they usually first come into contact with the Youth Employment Service? (RECORD IN COLUMN 15 (a) OPPOSITE)

FOR EACH SUBSEQUENT SCHOOL YEAR UP TO AND INCLUDING 5th YEAR ASK (a)

(a) Do any boys in their (NEXT) school year normally come into contact with the Y.E.S.?(IF YES, RECORD NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEAR IN COLUMN 15 (a) OPPOSITE)

ASK (b) AND (c) FOR EACH SCHOOL YEAR MENTIONED AT 15 & 15 (a)

(b) What sorts of contact do boys in their .... year have with the Y.E.S.?

(WRITE IN COLUMN (b) OPPOSITE)

(c) Do all boys in their .... year come into contact with the Y.E.S., or do some boys only? (CODE IN COLUMN (c) OPPOSITE)

IF SOME ONLY - CODE 2 - ASK (i)

(i) On what basis is it decided which boys should be included and which not?

(WRITE IN COLUMN (c)i OPPOSITE)

---

16. How do you feel about the way careers work is shared between the school careers staff and the local Youth Employment Staff at this school? Would you say that

	ideally, the Youth Employment Staff should take a bigger share than at present,	1
RUNNING	that the way that the work is shared out at present is about right,	2
PROMPT	or that ideally the school should take a bigger share than at present?	3

Q.15

(a)	(b)	(c)		(ci)
School Year	Sorts of contact with Y.E.S.	Whether All boys included		Basis for deciding which boys to be included
		All Some	1 2	
		All Some	1 2	
		All Some	1 2	

17. Could you tell me how much money is available annually for careers work at this school? I mean money from all sources, whether or not it is officially earmarked for careers, which the careers staff can spend on careers literature, careers projects and so on.

---

18. Do you feel that the money available for careers work at present is:-

	adequate	1	
RUNNING PROMPT	not entirely adequate	2	ASK a
	or inadequate?	3	

IF NOT ENTIRELY ADEQUATE OR INADEQUATE - CODES 2-3

(a) If (extra) money were available, what do you think it should be spent on?

19. Could you tell me which of the following aids and facilities for careers work are available at present at this school, if they should be needed?

(PROMPT ALL LISTED ITEMS, THEN ASK (a) ABOUT EACH FACILITY AVAILABLE)

(a) Would you say that .... was (were) used regularly (for careers purposes), or not very much used, at this school?

PROMPT	AVAILABLE		REGULARLY USED	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
(i) Careers books or pamphlets....................	1	2	6	7
(ii) Library space for careers literature...........	1	2	6	7
(iii) An index system for careers literature or information..............................	1	2	6	7
(iv) Notice boards or other facilities for display of careers literature or information......	1	2	6	7
(v) A special room for careers interviews..........	1	2	6	7
(vi) Storage space for careers materials other than literature..........................	1	2	6	7
(vii) A private telephone for careers staff..........	1	2	6	7
(viii) A moving film projector........................	1	2	6	7
(ix) A slide projector..............................	1	2	6	7
(x) A television set...............................	1	2	6	7
(xi) A radio set....................................	1	2	6	7
(xii) A tape recorder...............................	1	2	6	7
(xiii) Clerical assistance for careers staff..........	1	2	6	7

20. Do you have any other facilities for careers work at this school which I have not mentioned?

Yes	1	ASK a
No	2	

(a) What are these?

21. Within the last two years, have you been to any conferences or conventions for careers teachers, or on any courses organized for careers teachers?

Yes	2	ASK a-d
No, none	1	

(a) What conferences, conventions or courses have you attended during the last two years?
(RECORD TITLES/DESCRIPTIONS VOLUNTEERED IN COLUMN (a) OPPOSITE)
(ASK (b) - (e) ABOUT EACH EVENT MENTIONED)

(b) Who organised (EVENT MENTIONED)?
(RECORD IN COLUMN (b) OPPOSITE)

(c) How long did it last?
(RECORD IN COLUMN (d) OPPOSITE)

(d) Briefly, what subjects were covered on this occasion?
(RECORD IN COLUMN (d) OPPOSITE)

(a) TITLE OR DESCRIPTION OF COURSE	(b) WHO ORGANIZED	(c) HOW LONG LASTED	(d) SUBJECTS COVERED

CLASSIFICATION [INTRODUCE]

22. Name of teacher ______________________

---

23. Sex of teacher

Male	1
Female	2

---

24. How long have you been a teacher? _____ years

---

25. Apart from being a teacher, have you had any other full-time occupation since you completed your full-time education?

Yes	2 ask a-b
No, none	1

IF YES ASK (a) - (b)

(a) What other full-time occupations have you had?

(b) Do you feel that this work experience outside teaching has been of any help to you in your careers work?

Yes	1 ask (i)
No	2

(i) In what ways has it been of help?

26. Is there anything else that you would like to say about your careers work at this school?

Yes	1
No	2

(IF YES)

(a) What is that?

GOVERNMENT SOCIAL SURVEY CONFIDENTIAL

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT STUDY

TEACHER'S ASSESSMENT FORM

INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATION

This Teacher's Assessment Form has been prepared as part of a major study of factors affecting youth employment, which the Government Social Survey is carrying out on behalf of the Ministry of Labour.

The object of the study is to collect more comprehensive and reliable information than is at present available about the sorts of help which boys aged 15 and 16 need in choosing their careers, in finding suitable jobs and in settling down successfully in the world of employment.

In order to obtain this information a sample of boys who intend to leave school this summer has been drawn in a large number of schools throughout the country. Your school is one of those selected, and the Head-teacher has kindly agreed to help us with the survey by permitting us to interview some boys who are about to leave and any members of staff who are responsible for careers work with them.

However, there is one other important way in which we are relying on the schools to help us. We have felt from the first that a teacher who sees a boy regularly in the school situation is in a much better position to assess his behaviour and personality than we can hope to be on the strength of a single interview. Experience on pilot surveys has shown that this is indeed the case. We are therefore hoping to obtain a teacher's assessment of some aspects of each boy's behaviour and personality which we believe may be relevant to his employment needs and prospects.

The form consists of a number of questions and rating scales and should be completed with reference to the boy whose name appears at the top of page 2. It should be completed by a teacher who knows the boy well in the school context. (This applies particularly to the rating scales in Part B).

All information given on this form will be treated in strictest confidence by the Government Social Survey and will be used for purposes of statistical analysis only.

I hope you will not find the task of completing the assessments burdensome. We have tried to keep the form as short as possible. Very many thanks for your help.

R.K. Thomas
(Research Officer)

School and pupil serial number ☐☐☐☐☐

Name of pupil to be assessed ....

Part A

1. Of what level of academic achievement do you think this pupil is capable? (PLEASE RING THE NUMBER OPPOSITE THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF WHICH YOU THINK HE IS CAPABLE, WHETHER OR NOT HE ACTUALLY INTENDS TO SIT THE EXAMINATIONS MENTIONED).

Capable of:-

passing one or more subjects at GCE "A" Level	6
passing 4 or more subjects at GCE "O" Level or CSE Grade 1 ..	5
passing 1-3 subjects at GCE "O" Level or CSE Grade 1	4
passing CSE in 3 or more subjects, but all below Grade 1	3
passing CSE in 1 or 2 subjects, but all below Grade 1	2
Would not be capable of passing any of the above	1
Not known	0

2. Please give the following details of this boy's school attendance last term (i.e. Easter Term 1968).

Actual number of attendances made by pupil (in ½ days) ⟶

Maximum number of attendances which could have been made (in ½ days) ⟶

3. So far as is known, does this boy ever play truant from school? (PLEASE RING NUMBER OPPOSITE CORRECT ANSWER).

Yes	1
No.	2
Boy has not attended school long enough to say (etc)..	3

4. For how long have you, personally, known this boy?

PLEASE RING NUMBER OPPOSITE THE CORRECT ANSWER.

Less than 6 months	1
Between 6 months and 11 months	2
Between 1 year and 1 year 11 months ...	3
Between 2 years and 2 years 11 months .	4
Three years or more	5

5. In what capacity or capacities have you known this boy? (PLEASE RING THE NUMBERS OF ALL ANSWERS THAT APPLY) ⟶

Through teaching him one or more school subjects.	1
As his class teacher	2
In some other capacity (PLEASE DESCRIBE BELOW)	3

Part B

Seventeen rating-scales are printed below, each corresponding to an aspect of behaviour. Please indicate your assessment of each aspect of this boy's behaviour by placing a tick in one of the boxes of the corresponding scale. Try to be as objective as possible. Treat the middle box of each scale as representing the average for all boys of this age.

---

1. SELF-CONFIDENCE

Self-confident and assured	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Very she and hesitant

---

2. USE OF INTELLIGENCE

He works well up to his potential	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Is really much brighter than would be guessed from his attainment

---

3. ATTITUDE OF STAFF

Most members of staff have a high regard for him	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	On the whole staff do not think much of him

---

4. MATURITY

Seems mature for his age	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Seems immature for his age

---

5. ATTENTION SEEKING

Shows off, seeks attention	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Avoids attention, hates being in the limelight

---

6. VERBAL EXPRESSION

Can express himself easily with words	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	It is difficult to understand what he is getting at

---

7. INDEPENDENCE

Independent, thinks for himself	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Dependent on others in forming his opinion

---

8. TENDENCY TO WORRY

Tends to worry about things	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Never worries about anything

---

9. CO-OPERATIVENESS TOWARDS TEACHERS

Co-operative and obliging towards teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Unco-operative and obstructive towards teachers

10. LEADERSHIP

Takes a prominent part in things ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Tends to let others take the lead

---

11. REACTION TO CRITICISM

Accepts criticism with a good grace ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Tends to resent and reject criticism

---

12. TRUSTWORTHINESS

Always honest and trustworthy ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Dishonest and untrustworthy

---

13. EXTRAVERSION/INTROVERSION

Outward-going and talkative ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Quiet and introspective

---

14. RELIABILITY

Solid and reliable ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Erratic and unreliable

---

15. BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS OTHERS

Always generous and considerate towards others ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Often mean and inconsiderate towards others

---

16. SENSE OF PURPOSE

Knows what he wants and strives for it ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Has little sense of purpose – a drifter

---

17. EXCITABILITY

Excitable and impulsive ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Calm and cautious

18. Please write below your comments on any important aspects of this boy's behaviour or personality which you feel have not been adequately covered by the preceding rating scales.

....

....

....

....

....

Signature ....

Date ....

We would be grateful if you would ensure that, once completed, this confidential document is handed back to our interviewer whilst she is still at the school.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT ASSESSMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

Area Number ☐☐

YEO Number 2 ☐

Name of boy assessed ....

Serial Number of boy assessed ☐☐☐☐☐

Interviewer's name .... Auth. No. ☐☐☐

Date of assessment ☐☐☐

---

1. According to your records, how many personal interviews has this boy had with a member of the Y.E.S.?

Number →

---

2. On how many occasions have you yourself interviewed this boy?

Never 0

Number →

---

3. (a) What Youth Employment documents relating to this boy do you now have in your records? (PROBE FOR REFERENCE NUMBERS OF DOCUMENTS, IF ANY. OBTAIN FULL DESCRIPTION OF DOCUMENTS NOT LISTED BELOW. CODE ALL DOCUMENTS IN COLUMN (a))

(b) Which of these documents were completed and available to the Youth Employment interviewer (on the first occasion) when this boy was interviewed? (CODE IN COLUMN (b))

		(a)	(b)
		Document NOW in record	Document available AT TIME OF FIRST INTERVIEW
Y.1B	(Folder on which basic information obtained by YEO is recorded and in which other documents are kept)	1	DOES NOT APPLY
Y.15	(Confidential school report - less able boys)	2	2
Y.18	(Confidential school report - more able boys)	3	3
Y.35	(Questionnaire on vocational interests completed by the boy himself)	4	4
Y.9	(School-leaving medical report - general)	5	5
Y.10	(School-leaving medical report - handicapped child)	6	6
Y.17	(Questionnaire on vocational interests completed by some more able boys)	7	7
Y.E.27	(Form on which YEO makes notes for a assessment during Y.E. interview)	8	DOES NOT APPLY
	Other "Aide-Memoire" upon which notes were made during or after the Y.E. interview	9	DOES NOT APPLY
Y.13	(Summary of particulars about boy sent on from Y.E. Office elsewhere where full records are kept)	10	10
	Other (specify)	11	11

Now, I am going to ask you some questions about this boy's (first) Youth Employment interview. [I would like you to answer them from whatever records of the interview you may have, (and from your own recollections of the boy and of what was said). The questions are intended to cover every type of interview situation, so it may well turn out that there are some points on which you have no information in this particular case. If so, please let me know.]

4. When was this boy intending to leave school?

Year and month ....
(SPECIFY OTHER ANSWERS)

5. At the time he was interviewed, had he got a job definitely fixed up for when he left school?

Yes	1	Ask a-d
No	2	Go to 6
D.K.	9	

(a) What was this job?
(FULL TITLE AND/OR DESCRIPTION)

(b) In the light of your (the Youth Employment interviewer's) assessment of the boy, was this job considered -

RUNNING PROMPT	Wholly suitable,	1	Ask c
	fairly suitable	2	
	or unsuitable for him?	3	
	D. K.	9	Go to d

(c) Why was this job considered suitable (unsuitable)?

D.K.	9

(d) Was the boy told the Y.E. interviewer's opinion of the job, or not?

Yes	1
No	2
D.K.	9

6. Did the boy mention any (other) specific jobs, either at the interview or beforehand in writing?

Yes	1 Ask a-c
No	2
D.K.	9

(a) What jobs were these? (FULL TITLE/DESCRIPTION)

ASK (b) AND (c) ABOUT EACH JOB MENTIONED

(b) Did you (the interviewer) consider (JOB) a suitable job for this boy to attempt before the age of eighteen, or unsuitable?

(c) What did you (the interviewer) say to the boy about this job?

RECORD ANSWERS IN APPROPRIATE BOX BELOW

(a)		(b)	(c)	
Name/description of job	OFF. USE	Whether suitable	What was said to boy about job	OFF. USE
		Suitable 1 Unsuitable 2 D.K. 9		
		Suitable 1 Unsuitable 2 D.K. 9		
		Suitable 1 Unsuitable 2 D.K. 9		
		Suitable 1 Unsuitable 2 D.K. 9		

7. (Apart from these specific jobs that he mentioned) - Did the boy express any preferences for particular types of work?

YES	1 ASK a-c
NO	2
D.K.	9

(a) What types of work were these?

ASK (b) AND (c) ABOUT EACH TYPE OF WORK MENTIONED

(b) Did you (the interviewer) consider (TYPE OF WORK) suitable or unsuitable for this boy?

(c) What did you (the interviewer) say to the boy about (TYPE OF WORK)?

RECORD ANSWERS IN APPROPRIATE BOX BELOW

(a)		(b)	(c)	
Type of work	OFF USE	Whether suitable	What was said to boy about type of work	OFF USE
		Suitable 1 Unsuitable 2 D.K. 9		
		Suitable 1 Unsuitable 2 D.K. 9		
		Suitable 1 Unsuitable 2 D.K. 9		

8. (Apart from what has already been said) - Did you (the interviewer) make any definite recommendations or suggestions to the boy regarding his future career?

YES	1 ASK (a)
NO	2
D.K.	9

(a) What recommendations or suggestions were made?

---

9. Is there anything about this boy's general health or physique which might affect the sort of work he would be able to do?

YES	1 ASK (a)
NO	2
D.K.	9

(a) What is it?

---

10. Is there anything about this boy's home background which might affect his employment prospects or his performance at a job?

YES	1 ASK (a)
NO	2
D.K.	9

(a) What is it?

11. Now I would like you to give me a brief assessment of this boy from an employment point of view, drawing on whatever notes and information you may have available. To start with, I shall mention some traits or characteristics, giving a short definition of what I mean in each case. I would like you, if possible, to give the boy a rating from "A", meaning "very good" down to "E", meaning "very poor", on each characteristic. First, (READ (a)) would you rate the boy A, B, C, D or E on this?

	Characteristic and Definition [PROMPT ITEMS a – g]	Rating	
a)	Appearance Does he make a good impression at first sight, or is his appearance against him?	A B C D E D.K.	1 2 3 4 5 9
b)	General Intelligence From his school record and from the impression he made on the YE interview, does he seem to be a bright boy or rather slow and stupid? (Would you rate him A, B, C, D or E on this?)	A B C D E D.K.	1 2 3 4 5 9
c)	Mathematical Ability Is he good at handling figures or not? (Would you rate him A, B, C, D or E on this?)	A B C D E D.K.	1 2 3 4 5 9
d)	Verbal Ability Can he express himself clearly and fluently when speaking, or is he inarticulate and poor at communicating? (Would you rate him A, B, C, D or E on this?)	A B C D E D.K.	1 2 3 4 5 9
e)	Practical Ability Is he good at doing things with his hands or not? (Would you rate him A, B, C, D or E on this?)	A B C D E D.K.	1 2 3 4 5 9
f)	Maturity Does he strike one as a mature person for his age, or is he childish and immature? (Would you rate him A, B, C, D or E on this?)	A B C D E D.K.	1 2 3 4 5 9
g)	Confidence Is he confident and forthcoming or shy and hesitant? (Would you rate him A, B, C, D or E on this?)	A B C D E D.K.	1 2 3 4 5 9

GOVERNMENT SOCIAL SURVEY

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT STUDY SS 427

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT STAFF

Area number

Informant number

Date of interview

Time started

Time finished

Interviewer's name .... Auth. No.

Names of sample schools at which informant is responsible for interviewing all or most fifteen and/or sixteen year old boy leavers (TRANSFER FROM Q.13)

School Serial Number

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

INTRODUCE INTERVIEW AND COMPLETION OF ASSESSMENTS FULLY (SEE INTERVIEWERS' INSTRUCTIONS)

1. What is the official title of your present post in the Youth Employment Service?

YEO	1
CAO	2
Other (specify)	3

---

2. Do you normally deal with all categories of boy school-leaver, or with some categories only?

All categories	1
Some only	2 ASK a

(a) Which categories do you normally deal with?

3. For how long have you held a post in the Youth Employment Service which involves giving vocational guidance to school leavers?

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ years.

---

4. For how much of that time have you worked in (SAMPLE AREA)?

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ years.

---

5. At how many schools, in all, have you interviewed prospective leavers during the current academic year?

Number _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

---

6. Roughly how many individual interviews have you done in schools in the course of this academic year?

Estimated number _ _ _ _ _ _ _

D. K. (record comments) 9

---

7. Did you interview girls as well as boys at school this academic year, or boys only?

Both boys and girls 1 ASK a

Boys only 2

(a) Roughly what proportion of all the school interviews you have done this academic year were with boys

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ %

(b) INTERVIEW CHECK So this school year you have done about (NUMBER_ _ _ _ _ _ _) interviews with boys in schools?

Now I would like to know your views on the employment opportunities at present available in this area to boys leaving school at fifteen and sixteen.

8. Can we first consider boys who leave school at fifteen without any formal qualifications. How would you describe the employment opportunities available in this area for boys of this type?

9. Now can we consider boys who leave school at sixteen, but without any passes at G.C.E. "O" Level or at C.S.E. Grade I. How would you describe the employment opportunities available in this area for boys of this type?

10. Next can we consider boys who leave school at the age of sixteen, with between one and four passes at G.C.E. "O" Level, or other qualifications about equivalent to this. How would you describe the employment opportunities in this area for boys of this type?

11. Finally, can we consider boys who leave school at the age of sixteen with five or more passes at G.C.E. "O" Level, or other equivalent qualifications. How would you describe the employment opportunities in this area for boys of this type?

12. Now can we talk about the schools in (AREA) from which our sample of boy leavers has been drawn. I am going to read out the names of the schools concerned. As I do so, I would like you to tell me at which of the schools you have interviewed fourth or fifth year boy leavers during this academic year.

WRITE IN COLUMN 12 BELOW THE NAMES OF ALL SCHOOLS AT WHICH INFORMANT HAS CARRIED OUT INTERVIEWS THIS ACADEMIC YEAR. THEN ASK (a) AND (b) ABOUT EACH OF THESE SCHOOLS.

(a) During the current academic year, which member of the Youth Employment Service has carried out most interviews with fourth year boy leavers at (NAME OF SCHOOL)? (CODE IN COLUMN (a), SPECIFYING NAME OF YEO IF OTHER THAN INFORMANT)

(b) During the current academic year, which member of the Youth Employment Service has carried out most interviews with fifth year boy leavers at (NAME OF SCHOOL)? (CODE IN COLUMN (b), SPECIFYING NAME OF YEO IF OTHER THAN INFORMANT).

12		(a)			(b)		
NAME OF SCHOOL	School Serial Number	Who has interviewed most 4th year boy leavers			Who has interviewed most 5th year boy leavers		
		Informant	Other (specify)	DNA - No 4th yr. leavers	Informant	Other (specify)	DNA - No 5th yr. leavers
A.		1	2	3	1	2	3
B.		1	2	3	1	2	3
C.		1	2	3	1	2	3
D.		1	2	3	1	2	3
E.		1	2	3	1	2	3
F.		1	2	3	1	2	3
G.		1	2	3	1	2	3
H.		1	2	3	1	2	3
I.		1	2	3	1	2	3
J.		1	2	3	1	2	3

14. One of the things in which we are particularly interested is the adequacy of the careers help which is provided for fifteen and sixteen year old boy leavers at these schools. (RE-STRESS CONFIDENTIALITY AT THIS POINT, IF NECESSARY)

ASK (a) AND/OR (b), AS APPROPRIATE, ABOUT EACH SCHOOL WHERE INFORMANT IS MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR 15 OR 16 YEAR OLD LEAVERS (i.e. SCHOOLS CODED 1 AT 12(a) OR 12(b)).

(a) In your opinion, how adequate is the careers help which is at present provided for 15 year old boy leavers at (SCHOOL)? Would you say it was completely adequate, just about adequate or inadequate? (CODE IN COLUMN (a) BELOW)

(b) In your opinion, how adequate is the careers help which is at present provided for 16 year old boy leavers at (SCHOOL)? Would you say it was completely adequate, just about adequate or inadequate? (CODE IN COLUMN (b) BELOW)

IF CODES 2 OR 3 - JUST ABOUT ADEQUATE OR INADEQUATE - AT (a) OR (b), ASK (c).

(c) Are there any particular ways in which you feel that the careers help provided for (15 and 16) year old boy leavers at (SCHOOL) needs to be extended or improved? (IF SO) What ways are these? (RECORD IN COLUMN (c) BELOW)

(d) How would you describe the general attitude of the head-teacher towards the Youth Employment Service and its activities in the school? Would you say he was very co-operative, farily co-operative or not very co-operative? (CODE IN COLUMN (d) BELOW)

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
SCHOOL SERIAL NUMBER	How adequate for 15 year old leavers	How adequate for 16 year old leavers	Ways in which careers help provided needs to be extended or improved.	General attitide of head-teacher
	Completely adequate 1 Just about adequate 2 Inadequate 3 DNA 9	Completely adequate 1 Just about adequate 2 Inadequate 3 DNA 9		Very Co-operative 1 Fairly co-operative 2 Not very co-operative 3

CLASSIFICATION

15. Do you hold any qualification in vocational guidance?

Yes	1
No	2

IF YES -

(a) What is it called?

(b) How long ago did you obtain this qualification?

.... years ago.

16. Last full-time education (excluding Y.E. training).

Secondary Modern/Elementary/non-grammar denominational	1
Post 1947 comprehensive school	2
Central/Intermediate/Higher Grade school	3
State grammar/high school/Private grammar/Public/pre 1947 Secondary school	4
Technical/Commercial school (up to and including age 18)	5
University/Teacher training college/Technical college .... (all after age 18 i.e. higher education)	6
Other (specify)	7

17. Sex	Male	1	18. Age last birthday ....
	Female	2	

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